

Archæologiæ Philosophicæ:

OR, THE

ANCIENT DOCTRINE

Concerning the

Originals of Things.

Written in LATIN

By *THOMAS BURNET*, L.L.D.

Master of the CHARTER-HOUSE.

To which is added,

Dr BURNET's *Theory of the Visible World*,
by way of Commentary on his own *Theory of*
the Earth; being the second Part of his
ARCHIOLOGIÆ PHILOSOPHICÆ.

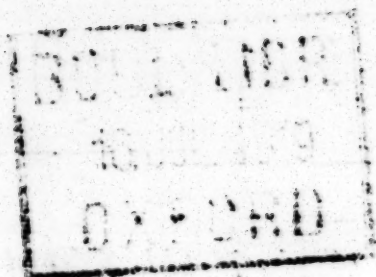
Faithfully translated into ENGLISH,
with REMARKS thereon.

*Veritas est Temporis Filia, quam parit aliquando unico nixu,
aliquando diutius in partu laborat.*

Epist. 2da. de *Archæol. Philos.*

L O N D O N:

Printed and sold by J. FISHER, over-against Tom's Coffe-
House in Cornhill. 1736. [Price 5 s.]



A D

POPULUM.

BEHOLD the learned Dr.
BURNET's Archæologiæ Phi-
losophicæ rising, PHŒNIX like,
*from her own Ashes; and shaking off
the Yoke of an unjust Bondage, under
which she has lain depressed, for well
nigh Seven Years: through the Insti-
gations of Francis Wilkinson, late of
Lincolns Inn, Esq; who (to make
Use of an Expression of Shakespeare's)*

THE PREFACE.

is, with all his Imperfections on his Head, now sent to his Accompt.*

I. *Dr. BURNET, by his WILL, left the said Wilkinfon no other Legacy than the Care of overseeing what he had bequeathed to others faithfully discharged.*

II. *Having disposed of the Property of the Works he published in his Life Time, viz. his THEORY and ARCHÆOLOGY, to Mr. KETTILBY in St. Paul's Church Yard, he neither revoked them by his last Testament, nor therein mentioned any of his Manuscripts, designing they should, with his corporal Remains, rest in Peace.*

Yet the said Wilkinfon, by sinister Arts and Misrepresentations, obtained

* See Hamlet.

The P R E F A C E.

an INJUNCTION in Chancery to suppress a Translation of this Work, under a Pretence of its being injurious to Dr. Burnet's Memory, who never intended to let the Original any more appear.

*But, now mark the Veracity of this Man ! for he himself reprinted a Latin Edition of the Archæologia, and likewise published the Author's Two SECRET TRACTS, 1. De Statu Mortuorum, &c. 2. De Fide & Offic. Christi. because an eminent Physician purchased one, and a noble Peer took a liking to the other. Cogent Reasons truly, for Mr. Wilkinson's making public, what he declares as his Opinion, * Dr. Burnet intended should remain private.*

* Equidem persuasum habeo Autori neutiquam in animo fuisse, ut hosce libros publici juris faceret.

Vid. Præfat. ad Librum de Fide & Officiis Christianorum. P. 7:

May

THE PREFACE.

May all Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, in Cases of Trust, act better than Mr. Wilkinſon has done, for worſe they cannot.

PHILALETHES.



ERRATA.

Page 20. Line 27. for, immitted, read, emitted. Page 3 and 8 of the Appendix, for Henry Roth, read Henry Lord; and ibid. Line 34, for King of Jezdegrid, read Jezdegirde.

The

The TABLE of CONTENTS.

A LETTER, &c. wherein is shewn, that the learned Sir Thomas Browne, as well as Dr. Burnet, was startled at some Passages in the *Mosaic Law*. And asserts, that some Scripture-Stories exceed the *Fables of Poets*. His particular Doubts enumerated, viz.

1. It is not very probable *one Ark* should contain all Creatures and their Food.
2. *Methusalem* not the longest liv'd of the *Patriarchs*.
3. *Babel* not built against a second Flood.
4. *Max-na* no Miracle.
5. Common Mistakes in reading Scripture.
6. The *Star* that conducted the wise Men, only seen by them.
7. As was the *Fiery Army* of *Elisba*.
8. The *Miracle* of the *Dial* of *Achaz*.
9. That of the *Sun* standing still.
10. The *Jews* not wearing out their Garments, no *Miracle*.
11. *Noah's Flood*, not universal.
12. Proofs that there is no *Original Sin*.

An Essay concerning the Use of *Reason* in *Religion*. Shewing, 1. That *God* has given to all *Creatures*, a sufficient Guide to the Happiness they are capable of, which to Irrational is *Instinct*, to Rational *Reason*. 2. The Opposers therefore of *Reason* Enemies to the *Rights* of *Mankind*. 3. Their unreasonable and unjust Persecutions farther demonstrated. Shewing that *Reason* is to guide us in the *Interpretation* of the *Scripture*; and that therefore Dr. Burnet is to be justified for what he asserts relating thereto in his *Archæologia Philosophicæ*.

Archæologia Philosophicæ.

CHAP. I.

CONCERNING *Moses's* Description of *PARADISE*, as well as the *Original State* of *Nature* and *Mankind*, in the Beginning of the World, shewing in particular, the Disagreement of the *Fathers* about *Paradise*. The greatest Part of them for a *Terrestrial one*. The *Mesopotamian Paradise* a Fiction, &c.

The History of *Paradise* in the *Creation* and Fall of Man. The Dialogue betwixt *Eve* and the *Serpent*. And betwixt *God* and *Adam* and *Eve*, and the *Serpent*. The Curse pronounced; *Adam* and *Eve* turned out of *Paradise*, and *God* sews them Cloaks of Beasts Skins. The Rib could not be taken from *Adam* without maiming of him. The *Rivers* of *Paradise*

The CONTENTS.

radise very obscure ; no *Four Rivers* derived from the *same Spring*. Farther Difficulties about the Rivers. The Improbability of the Discourse betwixt *Eve* and the *Serpent*. The Difficulties that arise from the *two Trees* of Life, and the Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*. *St. Austin* holds, That if Man had not fell, *Generation* would have been without the Loss of the *Claustrum Virginal*e.

Angelical Centinels for fifteen hundred Years.

Nature, *Good* in the Morning, *curst* in the Evening. The Elaborate Work of an Almighty Architect of a whole Week, all ruined in a few Hours by so silly a Beast as a Serpent.

The Design of *Moses* to inculcate the *Degeneration* of Man, and deter the *Jews* from breaking his Laws. From P. 1. to 27.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the *Origin* of *Things*, as they are expounded in the 1st Chapter of *Genesis*; together with the Manner of interpreting *Moses's Hexaëmeron*, viz. the Six Days Creation. Shewing that *Moses* adheres to the vulgar Opinion.

The *Earth* not the chief Part of the *Creation*, and of fresher Date than the rest of the Corporeal and Incorporeal World. The *Fathers* Opinion in Confirmation of this.

Comets the Dead Bodies of the *Fixt Stars*, that like Ghosts wander up and down unburied.

Waters above the Firmament, what. A Philosophical View of the *Hexaëmeron*. From P. 27, to 48. These two Chapters by C. B. Esq;

C H A P. III.

An Answer to those *Doubts* and *Objections*, which may be brought against the preceding Exposition, by THOSE who adhere to the *literal Sense* of the *Account* of the *Creation* in *six Days*. From P. 48. to 67.

C H A P. IV.

What remains to be considered farther, as well the *Reasons* of *Things*, as the *Testimonies* of *Authors*, that we may form a true Judgment in this CASE. From P. 67, to the End.

An APPENDIX concerning the modern *Brachmans* in the *Indies*, together with their generally received Opinions. Reciting the *Eastern Doctrines*, of the *Creation* of the *World*; viz. *Indostan*, *Siam*, *Choromandel*, the *Chinese* and the *Persians*. From P. 1. to 9.

The *Indian Sentiments* relating to the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, &c. in a Letter to the Right Honourable *John Earl of Rochester*, by *Charles Blount Esq;* From P. 10. to 18.

REMARKS on *Archæologia Philosophicæ*. By Mr. FOXTON.

A
L E T T E R
T O

Mr. E. CURLL, *Bookseller.*

S I R,

AS it is to you, the publick stand, primarily, obliged for the excellent Translation given them of the Great and Learned Dr. BURNET's Treatise *De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium*, with most judicious Remarks thereon by the Reverend Mr. EARBERRY; I have, according to my Promise, sent you some Part of the *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*.

I had not time to make the Translation my self, but transferred that Task upon a Friend, yet dare answer for the Exactness of the Version.

As for the Piece it self, I think it, with a judicious Writer *, one of the most Ingenious

* Charles Blount, Esq; in his ORACLES of REASON, pag. 2.

ii A L E T T E R, &c.

I ever read, and full of the most accute, as well as learned Observations. Nor can I find any thing worthy an Objection against him, as some of the censorious Part of the World pretend; who would have you believe it a meer Burlesque upon MOSES, and destructive to the Notion of *Original Sin*, wherefore by consequence (say they) there could be no necessity of a *Redemption*, which however I think no necessary Consequence: But for my Part, either the great Veneration I have for the Doctor's extraordinary Endowments, or else my own Ignorance has so far bribed me to his Interest, that I can by no means allow of any of those unjust Reflections the Wholesale Merchants of Credulity, as well as their unthinking Retailers, make against him. It is true, in the 7th Chap. B. II. he seems to prove that many Parts of the *Mosaick* History of the Creation appear inconsistent with Reason; and in the 8th Chapter the same appears no less inconsistent with Philosophy; wherefore he concludes (as many Fathers of the Church have done before him) that the whole rather seems to have been but a *pious Allegory*, which MOSES was forced to accommodate to the weak Understandings of the Vulgar (who were incapable of Philosophy, or any higher Notions) thereby to imprint in them a true Sense of one Supreme God and of his Power, as also of the
Original

A L E T T E R, &c. iii

Original of the World, wherewith all other Lawgivers began their Histories, as well as MOSES. But that the World had a beginning about six thousand Years since, as also the Degeneration of Mankind, our learned Author doth as strenuously affirm, as it is possible.

Nor is Dr. BURNET the only ingenious Man either of this Age or Nation, who has been, upon Enquiry, startled at some Passages in the *Mosaic* History: For Dr. BROWNE (so justly admired as well by Foreigners as his own Countrymen, upon the Account of his Knowledge in all Sorts of polite Literature) does both in his *Religio Medici*, and in his *Vulgar Errors*, betray his many Doubts and Scruples as well upon this Subject, as others, in these very Words—" I confess (says he) " there are in Scripture, Stories that " do exceed the Fables of Poets, and to a " captious Reader sound like *Garagantua* * " or *Bevis*: § Search all the Legends of " times past, and the fabulous Conceits of " these present, and it will be hard to find " one that deserves to carry the Buckler unto " *Sampson*; yet is all this of an easy Possibility, if we conceive a divine Concourse, " or an Influence but from the little Finger of

* See, The Works of *Rabelais*.

§ The Renowned Hero of *Southampton*.

iv A L E T T E R, &c.

“ the Almighty.—My self (says he) could
 “ shew a Catalogue of Doubts, never yet
 “ imagined nor questioned, as I know of,
 “ which are not resolved in Scripture at the
 “ first hearing; not fantastick Queries or
 “ Objections of Air: For I cannot hear of
 “ Atoms in Divinity. I can read the *Histo-*
 “ *ry* of the *Pidgeon* that was sent out of the
 “ *Ark*, and returned no more, yet not que-
 “ stion how she found out her Mate that was
 “ left behind. That LAZARUS was raised
 “ from the Dead, yet not demand where, in
 “ the interim, his Soul awaited; or raise a
 “ Law Case, whether his Heir might law-
 “ fully detain his Inheritance bequeathed un-
 “ to him by his Death, and he, though re-
 “ stored to Life, have no Plea or Title unto
 “ his former Possessions. Whether EVE was
 “ framed out of the *Left-side* of ADAM, I
 “ dispute not; because I stand not yet assu-
 “ red, which is the *Right-side* of a Man, or
 “ whether there be any such Distinction in
 “ Nature; that she was Edified of the Rib
 “ of ADAM, I believe, yet raise no Question
 “ who shall arise with that Rib at the Resur-
 “ rection. Whether ADAM was an *Herma-*
 “ *phrodite*, as the Rabbines contend upon
 “ the Letter of the Text, * because it is con-
 “ trary to Reason there should be an *Herma-*

* Gen. i. 27.

“ *phrodite*

A L E T T E R, &c. v

“ *phrodite* before there was a *Woman*, or a
 “ Composition of two Natures before there
 “ was a second composed. Likewise whe-
 “ ther the World was created in *Autumn*,
 “ *Winter*, *Summer*, or the *Spring*, because
 “ it was created in them all : For whatsoever
 “ Sign the Sun possesseth, those four Seasons
 “ are actually existent : It is the Nature of
 “ this Luminary to distinguish the several
 “ Seasons of the Year, all which it makes at
 “ one Time in the whole Earth, and succes-
 “ sive in any Part thereof. —It is ridiculous
 “ to put off, or drown the *general* Flood of
 “ NOAH, in that *particular* Inundation of
 “ *Deucalion* : That there was a Deluge once,
 “ seems not to me so great a Miracle, as
 “ that there is not one always. How all the
 “ Kinds of Creatures, not only in their own
 “ Bulks, but with a Competency of Food
 “ and Sustenance, might be preserved in one
 “ Ark, and within the Extent of three hun-
 “ dred Cubits, will not appear very feasible.
 “ There is another Secret not contained in
 “ the Scripture, which is more hard to
 “ comprehend, and put the honest Father
 “ (St. AUSTIN) to the Refuge of a Mira-
 “ cle ; and, that is, not only how the
 “ distinct Pieces of the World, and divi-
 “ ded Islands, should be first planted by
 “ *Men*, but Inhabited by *Tygers*, *Panthers*,
 “ and *Bears* ? How AMERICA abounded

vi A L E T T E R, &c.

“ with Beasts of Prey and noxious Animals,
 “ yet contained not in it that necessary Crea-
 “ ture, a *Horse*, is very strange. By what
 “ Passage those, not only Birds, but dange-
 “ rous and unwelcome Beasts came over?
 “ How there be Creatures there, which are
 “ not found in this triple Continent? All
 “ which must needs be strange unto us that
 “ hold but one Ark, and that the Creatures
 “ began their Progress from the Mountain
 “ ARARAT.---It is a Paradox to me, that
 “ METHUSALEM was the longest lived of all
 “ the Children of ADAM; and no Man will
 “ be able to prove it, when from the Process
 “ of the Text, I can manifest it may be
 “ otherwise. That JUDAS perished by hang-
 “ ing himself, there is no certainty in Scrip-
 “ ture, the two Texts * seeming to contradict
 “ one another. That our Fathers after the
 “ Flood, erected the Tower of BABEL to pre-
 “ serve themselves against a second Deluge,
 “ is generally opinioned and believed, yet is
 “ there another Intention of theirs expressed
 “ in Scripture: Besides it is improbable from
 “ the Circumstance of the Place, which was
 “ a Plain in the Land of SHINAR.---I believe
 “ there was a Tree, whose Fruit our unhap-
 “ py Parents tasted, though in the same
 “ Chapter, where God forbids it, it was po-
 “ sitively said, *The Plants of the Field were*

* Mat. xxv. and Acts i. 18.

A L E T T E R, &c. vii

“ *not yet grown ; for God had not then caused*
 “ *it to Rain upon the Earth.* I believe that
 “ the Serpent (if we shall literally understand
 “ it) from his proper Form and Figure,
 “ made his Motion on his Belly before the
 “ Curse. I find the Tryal of the Pucilage
 “ and Virginity of Women, which God or-
 “ dained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Expe-
 “ rience and History inform me, that not
 “ only many particular Women, but like-
 “ wise whole Nations have escaped the Curse
 “ of Child-birth, which God seems to pro-
 “ nounce upon the whole Sex. Having pe-
 “ rused the Archidoxes, and read the sacred
 “ Sympathies of Things, the Devil would
 “ dissuade my Belief from the Miracle of the
 “ Brazen Serpent, and make me conceit that
 “ Image worked by Sympathy, and was but
 “ an *Aegyptian* Trick to cure their Diseases
 “ with a Miracle. Again, having seen some
 “ Experiments of BITUMEN, and read many
 “ more of NAPTHA, he whispered to my Cu-
 “ riosity, the Fire of the Altar might be natu-
 “ ral ; and bid me distrust a Miracle of ELIAS ;
 “ when he intrenched the Altar round with
 “ Water, since that inflamable Substance
 “ yields not easily to Water, but Flames
 “ in the Arms of its Antagonist. And thus
 “ would he inveigle my Belief to think the
 “ Combustion of SODOM might be natural,
 “ and that there was an Asphaltick and Bi-

viii A L E T T E R, &c.

“ tuminous Nature in that Lake, before the
 “ Fire of GOMORRAH. I know that Manna
 “ is now plentifully gathered in CALABRIA,
 “ and JOSEPHUS tells me in his Days it was
 “ plentiful in ARABIA; the Devil therefore
 “ made me Quære, where was then the Mi-
 “ racle in the Days of MOSES, since the
 “ *Israelites* saw but that in his Time, which
 “ the Natives of those Countries behold in
 “ ours?” (See *Religio Medici*.) Also in his
Vulgar Errors, He writes thus:--- “ It hath
 “ puzzled the Enquiries of others to appre-
 “ hend, and forced them to strange Concep-
 “ tions, to make out how EVE should be
 “ deluded by a Serpent, or subject her Rea-
 “ son to a Beast, which God had subjected
 “ to hers? And how without Fear and
 “ Doubt she could Discourse with such a
 “ Creature, or hear a Serpent speak, with-
 “ out Suspicion of Imposture. Others won-
 “ der at her Simplicity, that when the Ser-
 “ pent told her the eating that Fruit would
 “ make them like Gods, she did not Ques-
 “ tion the Beast, why he himself did not eat
 “ of it then.

Now as one observes very well, in Relation
 to *Divine Miracles*, there is oftentimes great
 Errors committed in the manner of reading
 Scripture; as when that is taken in a general
 Sense, which ought to be particularly under-
 stood: As that of ADAM, whom MOSES
 made

made only to be the first Father of the *Jews*, whilst others Hyperbolically make him to be the first Father of all Men. So likewise the Darknes at the Death of our Saviour, which some say was spread over the Face of the whole Earth: Others, and some able Interpreters, have only translated it, *Upon all the Land of the Jews*, viz. *Palæstine*, which the *Hebrews* always meant, when they said the Earth. So likewise the Star which conducted the wise Men, upon the Nativity of Christ, some place in Heaven among the rest of the Stars; but others say, that could not be, for then other People had seen it as well as those few wise Men, and *HEROD* among the rest; who being troubled at this Report, and not being able to see it himself, calling the wise Men to him privately (says the Evangelist) he enquired of them what time the Star did appear? And besides, it marched before them like a Torch, and conducted them; so that it cannot be said to have been a fixed Star in the Heavens. Again, some will teach you, that the fiery Army sent to the help of *ELISHA* from Heaven was such, whom the Prophet himself saw, and yet his Servant that stood by him could not see. Likewise in the miraculous Sign which was given of *EZEKIAH*'s Recovery from his Sicknes, when it is said, — That God brought back the Shadow of those Lines, that, it had gone down in the Dial
of

x A L L E T T E R, &c.

of ACHAZ back ten Degrees.---Here some affirm, That the Sun went not back in the Heaven, (as it is generally believed) but only in the Dial of ACHAZ; for, say they, if the Sun went back in the *Zodiac*, or that Degree of the *Ecliptic* standing still, which he was running that Day, the *Primum Mobile* came also backwards, and with it all the rest of the Spheres; if we say that he went back only in the *Zodiac*, and a tenth Part of the *Zodiac*, then say they the Sun, must needs return through a great many Signs of the *Zodiac*, and bring back with him past Months, yea, and Seasons of the Year. Besides, that this Sign was seen only in the Land of JUDAH, and not elsewhere, they pretend to prove from Ambassadors which were sent from BABYLON to enquire after the Sign, which (say they) might have been seen in BABYLON, as well as in JUDAH, had the Sun gone back in the Firmament. Much to the same purpose they argue against the Miracle of the Sun's standing still one whole Day in GABAON at the Command of JOSHUA, alledging, That that long Day extended not it self beyond the the Country of GABAON, or otherwise it must have been apparent elsewhere: And therefore they urge, That the Light of the setting Sun after he was himself gone down, was only the Reflexion of his Beams, remaining as yet in the Atmosphere, which reverberated longer than

than ordinary upon the Mountain and City of GABAON, by a favourable Situation of the Hills: In the North of SCOTLAND they have, at sometimes, in Summer hardly any Night at all; and some Mathematicians write, that according to the Obliquity of the Sphere, there were some Days of six Months continuance, with them who live under the Parallel. Likewise concerning the Miracle of the *Jews*, not wearing out their Garments, or their Shoes, in forty Years time that they continued in the Wilderness; some pretend, that they feeding a thousand Flocks in the Desert, made Cloth and Raiment of their Wool, as well as Shoes of their Skin and Leather, wanting neither Weavers, Taylors, or Shoe-makers among so numerous a Mob. Now lastly, others will not allow that the Flood of NOAH was upon the whole Earth, but only upon the Land of the *Jews*; nor to destroy all Men, but only the *Jews*: For, say they, God being offended at their Wickedness, said, I will cut off Man whom I have created from the Face of the Earth, from the Man to the Beast, from the creeping thing to the Fowl of the Heaven--- Where they will have it, that the *Hebrews* by Earth ever meant their own, *viz. Palæstine*; by the Man whom he had created, the *Jews*, the Posterity of ADAM; and by living Creatures the *Gentiles* matched among the *Jews*: Besides, Cattle, Birds, and all creeping Things within

xii A L E T T E R, &c.

within the Land of *Palestine*, except only NOAH and his Family. How that this Flood was only in the Land of the *Jews*, they argue; *First*, From the Causes of the Deluge, which were only the Sins of the *Jews*; *Secondly*, From the Words of BEROSUS, who hath written of the Ark (says JOSEPHUS) in which the chief of our Family was preserved; not the chief of Mankind, but the chief of our Lineage, that is, the *Jews*. *Thirdly*, From the Dove that was sent out and returned at Night with an Olive-branch free from Dirt or Slime, and covered with green Leaves; whereas, say they, in all places where the Flood had been, the Trees were depressed and covered with Slime and Mud. They further tell you, That the World was said to be divided by PHALEG, who was the fifth in Descent from SEM, wherefore they question how they could People CHINA, AMERICA, the SOUTHLAND, GREENLAND, and the rest with Inhabitants: These and many more Scruples are raised by some nice and curious Enquirers; so that we see our Learned Dr. BURNET stands not alone by himself in his more refined and speculative Doubts. All which might easily be salved, were it not for that outward Axiom in Philosophy, *a posse, ad esse, non valet consequentia*: However as that Argument shews it may not be so, yet neither does it demonstrate it is not so. For God seldom alters or perverts the
the

A L E T T E R, &c. xiii

the Course of Nature, however Miracles may be necessary sometimes to acquaint the World with his Prerogative, lest the Arrogance of our Reason should question his Power; a Crime no wise Man can ever be guilty of: Who climbing up from Cause to Cause, shall ever find the highest Link of Nature's Chain to be tied at the Foot of JUPITER's Chair.

The next Charge against our Author, is for his disowning Original Sin, which I must ingenuously confess was ever a difficult Pill with me to swallow, my Reason stopping it in my Throat, and not having Faith enough to wash it down. There are some Persons, I know, who believe that Wars, Plagues, Fevers, and all the Troop of natural Corruptions invaded the Earth by that Imputation of the Sin of ADAM, without discriminating between Natural and Legal Sin. For Wars, Plagues, and Fevers, with whatever else of this sort troubles and afflicts Mankind, are the consequences of Natural Sin, which is the Wick- edness and Imperfection of Nature. This will easily appear to such who can suffer that ancient Cloud of Prepossession to be taken off, which dulls their sight; for who knows not that Wars had their Original from such, whom either greedy Desire of Prey, or cruel Thirst after Revenge, or sacred Ambition of Rule stirred up to take Arms? Then who hath
not

not had experience of the Breeding and Inflammation of Plagues and Fevers, either by the natural Corruption of the Air, or by the Corruption of our natural Bodies? We have as many Witnesses of this Observation and Truth, as we have Statesmen and Physicians. Therefore not from ADAM's Sin proceeded our Diseases, but from our own corrupt and rotten Natures; the innate Infirmary of Men being the chief and natural Calamity of Men. Nay, it is not known that ADAM, who was the Criminal and Fountain (as they say) of so great Evils, was ever so much as troubled with the least Disease all those 930 Years which he lived; unless you will believe him, who relates, out of I know not what Author, that ADAM died of the Gout, wherewith he was troubled from his Ancestors. Did CAIN fall sick when he slew his Brother? No; he was very strong and lusty, he fled to the *East of Eden*, where he associated himself with a pack of lewd Fellows; he set up for the Trade of Padding, then married a Wife, begot a Son, and built a City. Likewise the most excellent Poet falls out with his Gods, for that his Mistress (EUGENIA) being perjured, kept the same Face which she had before, or rather became fairer and fairer: The same is also the constant complaint of the Elect in Scripture, That the Wicked prosper so much in
this

this World. Wherefore to me it seems certain, that the Imputation of ADAM's Sin is no ways an occasion of our Sufferings. I know there are some who affirm, That if ADAM had not sinned, Men would never have died; as if Immortality and Eternal Life, which nothing but a new Creation could beget, would have been bestowed on Men by Vertue of the first Creation, which by its own Nature is subject to Death and Corruption: And that those Men would not have died, who (as the Schools say) are naturally Corruptible, and were created Mortal. Some will here object and say, God told ADAM, *That on the Day he eat that Fruit, he should die the Death*; from whence they gather, That if Death was given as a Punishment to ADAM, on that Day wherein he transgressed the Law of God, then surely ADAM would never have died, if he had never sinned: But that Consequence I deny; for although they die which kill, yet they who do not kill are not Immortal. Besides, to conclude this Point, it is altogether inconsistent with God's Attributes of Mercy and Justice, to punish all Mankind for one single Person's Sin, which we could no ways prevent or hinder, or any but God himself, who permitted that Evil Spirit to Reign in him. The ROMAN Schools affirm the first Motions of Concupiscence to be no Sin; because they are involuntary, and come upon us whether

xvi A L E T T E R, &c.

we will or no; then why should they think Original Sin to be really and truly a Sin in us, which is altogether as involuntary, and unchosen by us as Concupiscence? For how can another's Sin, wherein we have no hand, be imputed to us? Eternal Death was not threatned to ADAM for his Sin, and therefore could not from him descend upon us, for that which was none of ours. The Death that ADAM's Sin introduced, is such as could have a Remedy or Recompence by Christ, but eternal Death hath no Recompence, nor can ever be destroyed, whereas temporal Death shall. If God should impute ADAM's Sin so as to damn us for it, then all our Good we receive from God, is much less than the Evil, saith Bishop TAYLOR. If God will not give Men Heaven by Christ, he will not throw them into Hell by ADAM; if his Goodness will not do the First, his Mercy and Justice will not suffer him to do the Last. Nor did any Church ever enjoin Pennance or Repentance for Original Sin: Wherefore it seems preposterous and unreasonable, that any Man should be damned for that, which no Man is bound to Repent of. However I do no way find that Dr. BURNET does absolutely declare against Original Sin; but rather the contrary, acknowledging the degeneracy of Mankind from its primitive State, which must be redeemed by the Seed of a Woman. All Ex-
treams

streams are dangerous, as walking upon the Brink of a Precipice; or the like; and if he be not so violent in this Point; what others may only think he wants in Piety, may perhaps be really supplied in Charity: And what they only fancy they have in Piety, may be truly defective in Charity: An honest Augure is ever in most danger of his own Fraternity.

But to proceed, it hath been a Point very much disputed among several Politicians in the Common-wealth of Learning, who was the real and true Author of the Pentateuch. A late and great modern Philosopher of this Nation declares, It is not an Argument sufficient to prove those Books were written by MOSES, because they are called the Five Books of MOSES; for, as much as Books often take their Titles from their Subject; as well as from their Authors. It is true, the History of LIVY denotes the Writer, but the History of TAMERLAIN is denominated from the Subject. We read in the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, v. 6: concerning the Sepulchre of MOSES, that no Man knoweth his Sepulchre to this Day; that is to say, to the Day wherein those Words were written; wherefore, it is manifest, that those Words were written after his Interment. But it may perhaps be alledged, That the last Chapter only, and not the whole Pentateuch, was

C

written

xviii A L E T T E R, &c.

written by some other Hand, and the rest by MOSES. Let us therefore consider, that which we find in the Book of *Genesis*, (chap. xii. ver. 6.) *And Abraham passed through the Land, to the place of SICHEM, unto the Plain of MOREH, and the Canaanite was then in the Land*; which must be the Words of one that wrote when the *Canaanite* was not in the Land, and consequently not of MOSES, who died before he came into it. Likewise, *Numb.* xxi. v. 14. The Writer citeth another more ancient Book, entituled, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, wherein were registred the Acts of MOSES at the *Red-Sea*, and at the Brook of ARNON; which he would never have mentioned of himself, but could as well have given us an Account himself of what he did in those Places. Wherefore, it is evident, That the Five Books of MOSES were written by another Hand after his Decease. But yet it is rational to believe, that MOSES wrote the Volume of the Law, contained in the 11th of *Deuteronomy*, and the following Chapters to the 27th, which he commanded to be written on Stones in the Entry into the Land of CANAAN. Also MOSES himself delivered it to the Priests and Elders of *Israel*, to be read every seventh Year to all *Israel* at their Assembly in the Feast of Tabernacles, as we may find in the 31st Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, v. 9th. Nay, it may be also questioned,

questioned, whether the aforesaid was that very Law which MOSES delivered, since having been a long time lost, HELKIAH pretended to find it again, and so sent it to King JOSIAS (2 *Kings* xxii. 8. and the xxiii. 1, 2, 3.) so that we have only HELKIAH's Word for it. The Book of JOSHUA was also written long after JOSHUA's Time, which may be gathered out of many Places of the Book it self: JOSHUA had set up twelve Stones in the midst of JORDAN for a Monument of their Passage; of which the Writer saith, (*Joshua* iv. 9.) *They are there unto this Day*; which Expression, *Unto this Day*, is a Phrase that signifieth a Time past. And the same is manifest by like Arguments of the Books of *Judges* and *Ruth*, that they were written long after the Captivity; *Judges*, chap. i. 21, 26. chap. vi. 24. chap. x. 4. chap. xv. 19. chap. xvii. 6. and *Ruth*, chap. i. 1. but especially *Judges* xviii. 30.

Now the Reason why I make mention of these Things, is only to shew, That our most Reverend and Ingenious Author, is not the first that has had Scruples in this kind, and that he may well make an Enquiry into the Truth of some Passages of the History, when the very Historians themselves are so much doubted of by others; not but that we may pay a just deference to the Church, and yet at the same Time raise Scruples for Informa-

xx A L E T T E R, &c.

tion fake, the better to Arm our selves against our Antagonists.

The next little Part or Epilogue of Dr. BURNET's Book, which we here present you with in *English*, is his *Appendix* concerning the *Brachmin's* Religion, and has reference to one of his former Chapters on the same Subject. I must confess his Notion of their omnipotent Spider (though what I have read many Years since) was no less grateful to me, than the return of a Friend after a long Voyage. That thought of resolving all Things into himself, an Estate for Life that falls into the Landlord's Hands. Sure no good Tenant needs fear a good new Lease; the State of Man, if rightly well considered, is only wearing out our Threads of Life, in order to our Deaths. And he that weighs our Progress here, the great Vicissitudes without decay, since things may change, but never annihilate, will find PENELOPE's *Telam texere* in our Case, viz.

Dress and undress the Emblem of our Lives,

Till shrowded in our mortal Dishabille,

We wait the Morning for a different Dress;

When the Celestial Drop as now inclos'd,

May to a different Vial be expos'd.

But

A L E T T E R, &c. xxi

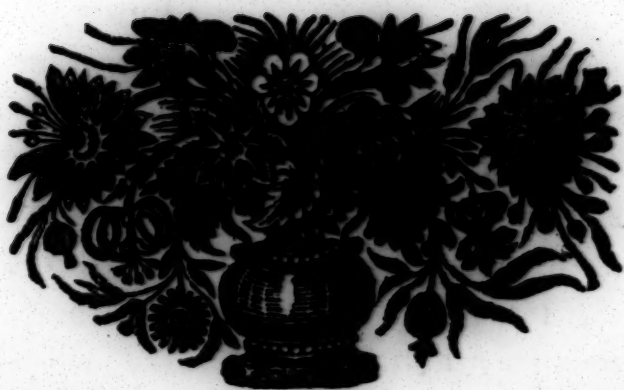
But I shall trouble you no more upon this Subject, lest you should mistake it for the Funeral Sermon of,

S I R,

Your ever Faithful Friend,

and Real Servant,

C. B.



A N
E S S A Y

On the USE of

Reason in Religion.

NATURE, or that *sacred* and *supreme Cause* of all Things, which we term GOD, has furnished his Creatures with such Guides as may best conduct them to the several Ends of their *Beings*. To the Birds, Beasts, and other Animals, which we generally hold inferiour to Mankind, he gave *Instinct*, as sufficient to direct them to all that is necessary for them. We may well therefore excuse them, if by that Guide they go not beyond a present Care of their Subsistence and Continuation, all which reaches not beyond the Body ; because we can discover no other End of their Being (except what human Luxury has found out in their Destruction,) but to support that Being by Food, and to preserve it by
Propaga-

An Essay on Reason in Religion. xxiii

Propagation ; and to this, *Instinct* is sufficient.

But in Man we (at least) discover a farther and more noble End ; Nature therefore must have given him another and a more sufficient Guide ; for the Mind of Man (the chief Ingredient of his Composition) is not bounded by present Objects, in which *Instinct* alone would serve. Futurity has always a Share in its Thoughts, and its Faculties will be employed with a Care of those Things that are to come, from whence it may derive not only Advantage, Interest, and Ease for the Body, but also Improvement, Happiness, and Tranquility for it self.

. But the Things from which the Mind must gather, and of which compose all these, are so vast in Number, and so various and obscure in their Natures, that without the help of a very good Guide, it may make a Collection of Poisons instead of Medicines, and reap its Destruction, not Satisfaction ; but the *omnipotent Cause*, that had so well furnished Brutes, left not the Mind of Man without its Director in this Maze and Lottery of Things ; he gave it *Reason*, as its sovereign Rule and Touch-stone to examine them by, and to fit our Choice to our double Advantage of Body and Mind. Reason is the Light, that

C 4

brings

xxiv *An ESSAY on the USE of*

brings Day to those Things, that will contribute to, or oppose our Happiness ; without which we should in vain grope in the dark ; and we should owe entirely to Chance what we obtained.

It is true, *Reason* is not sufficient to bring us to a perfect Knowledge of all Things, but it is able to furnish us with enough to make us happy, and that is as much as we need care for. There is no Necessity of our Skill in the inmost Nature of Things, but there is (since we are ordained to an *Eternity of Continuance*) that we should know how to make *Eternity* happy, since its Being so depends on our selves ; and since such a Knowledge is absolutely necessary, I can discover nothing that can give it us, but our sovereign Guide, *Reason*.

Reason, therefore being the supream and primitive Director of every Man, to infringe its Liberty of directing, is to invade the common Charter of Nature, and every Man's Right and Property ; so that those who do so, are justly to be looked on as the Enemies of human Kind. But how that Character agrees with the *fiery* Glory of the *Zealots* for Religion, I cannot comprehend, unless they can demonstrate, That *Religion* and *Nature* are directly *Opposites*.

I am

I am not ignorant that they pretend their Severity against Heterodox Books (which are all that deviate from their Opinions) is the Effect of their Zeal for the Good of Mankind. But then they cannot deny, but that they made *themselves* the Judges of that Good, and so make their Opinion the Standard, which is too particular for what they would have of so universal Extent ; and will afford us no Refuge if they should lead us into an Error, which we may hereafter find (unless they deny that they can be deceived) and if they should do so, then may their universal imaginary Good prove a real and universal Evil.

If they would have us believe, that they hold every Man must be saved by his own, not another's Faith ; they must grant every one the Liberty of believing and professing what his own Reason shall direct him ; and that it is a Crime to oppose this Liberty, I mean by indirect Means, for I shall never quarrel at *Reason*, if they can produce any. I must tell these *fiery* Bigots, that their Practice and Doctrine being so contradictory, gives a more effectual Blow to Religion, than all the Attempts of professed Atheists ; for when these clash, they give too great Grounds to suspect a Trick in the whole : And when so
essential

xxvi *An ESSAY on the USE of*

essential a Birth-right of each Man is invaded, it must improve those Suspicions very much, and cause a narrower Enquiry into Things that might otherwise pass unregarded.

We should not have so great Cause to resent this Severity, if we might say of *Religion* and *Eternity*, as *PLINY* said of Providence,——*Ridiculum est agere curam rerum humanarum, Quicquid est summum; sed credi usui est Vitæ.*——That it was merely a political Trick for the Convenience of Government and human Life. Then indeed it would be something pardonable in these Gentlemen, who patronize *Fire* and *Faggot* so vehemently, to strive with so much Ardour for the reducing all to their own Fancy. Then the Prophanation would not be great, of making what they really believed, a Chimæra, serve a Turn, and compliment a Faction, or any Interest. I will easily excuse the ancient Founders of Paganism, for having Recourse to Stratagem, to reduce Men's Reason to particular Opinions, because they made use of them only to form Greatness to themselves, by imposing on the Predominant, Frailties of the vulgar Sort, in a thing they judged of no more Concern, than a temporal Convenience. It was no ill Policy in them, when they perceived the Generality of Mankind would easily submit their Reason to every Appearance
of

REASON *in* RELIGION. xxvii

of a Wonder, to fish for their Profit and Glory, with so easy a Bait. ALEXANDER the false Prophet, mentioned by LUCIAN, found it turn to his Advantage, in gaining him so great an Interest in the People. And from this Topick PHILOSTRATES magnifies APOLLONINUS. These, in short, every new God and Prophet among them was to have, as Credentials of his Divinity, and a Right to the Zeal of his Devotees. Some of these carried, I must confess, extraordinary Circumstances to gain them necessary Credit, as one (among several others) in those Marble Records found in the Temple of *Æsculapius* in *Rome*, viz.

Αὐ ταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις Γαίω, &c.

To this Purpose in *English*.

In those Days there was an ORACLE delivered to one CAIUS, who was Blind, that he should come to the sacred Altar, and kneel down, and should then go from the Right-side to the Left, and place five Fingers on the Altar, and lift up his Hand, and put it up on his own Eyes : Which done, he plainly saw in the Presence of all the People, who congratulated the Cure, that such great Miracles should be performed under our Emperor ANTONINUS.

The

The Circumstances of this were very remarkable, and there is nothing but the blind Man himself that could carry on the Imposture, in pretending the Cure of a Disease he did not labour under, and for the Glory of their Gods the *Romans* always found some who would attest the highest Improbabilities by Authority, to influence the People with an Awe; as he that swore he saw ROMULUS assumed into Heaven, in that *Senate* which had been the Authors of his Death; but they were willing to grant him Immortality, and Deify him above, to be rid of him there, and at the same time give the People a Veneration for their *Princes*, when they saw they passed from governing them to be *Gods*.

But to return from this Digression, I could pardon these Heathens, because they had no Opinion of the Sacredness of what they imposed, and besides feared to trust Mankind with their Reason, lest they should discover the Imposture. But among Christians, whose Opinions in Matters of Religion, ought to be sacred, and beyond the Fear of the nicest Scrutiny of Reason, to confine our Liberty of judging is too Arbitrary for *Englishmen* to bear. If these Gentlemen, with the Heathens, think this Method for their turn, I cannot blame them; but if with us they be-
lieve

REASON *in* RELIGION. xxix

lieve Religion and Eternity a sacred Truth, and that every Man is so far interested in them, that his Enjoyment and Loss of eternal Happiness depends on his own Faith; let them leave every Man in his Native Right to Reason on what Concerns him so much, and bring nothing against us but what *Reason* affords them. For it is but fair, that if I must venture my Life in any Cause, I have the Liberty of taking my own Methods of Security.

This Liberty among us extends to the interpreting that sacred Repository of Truth, the Holy Scriptures, according to our own Reason; which is a Liberty that has been for many Years asserted to be the Right of every reasonable Man: This being granted, as indeed it cannot be denied, it inevitably follows, that we ought to be allowed a Liberty of declaring our Opinion and Interpretation, or else it could be of no Use in Nature to us. And if this be the Right of every reasonable Man, how much more must it be of Men that to their natural Reason have the acquired Helps of Learning, as Dr. BURNET must be granted to have, who is so well, and with so much Evidence, vindicated in the foregoing Letter? Nor is it through a vain Opinion, that I can add any Force to that incomparable Defence of his learned Advocate,

xxx *An ESSAY on the USE of*

vocate, that I presume to Interest my self in this great Man's Cause; but only to plead for that Liberty for him (and in him for every ingenious Man) which his great Opposers stand so much upon, against those Adversaries that would deny the same to them. I should never complain of their confuting him by fair Reason, for that is the Weapon of Mankind; but when they have Recourse to the wretched Refuge of routed Argument, *Power*, and the *say so* of such and such, we have cause to complain of unfair Dealing, and that they press what they would not admit themselves.

Let *Reason* be our Judge, and we can never fear being censured by *it*, for establishing its Sovereignty. Nor can the nicest Devotee that hath any Deference to Reason deny, but that Dr. BURNET has discovered more Veneration for the great Prophet MOSES, by reducing him to that noble Standard, and freeing him from all the Absurdities, which vulgar Apprehension had cast on him, than those who stickle them, that involved him in them. In short, it is not *Moses*, but his Interpreters, who the learned Doctor has exposed, and by consequence, it is not that holy Law-giver, but the blind Bigots of the old absurd Interpretation of him, that we have offended in publishing this in *English*.

Let

Let our Adversaries but consider that this Liberty I have been pleading for, and which the Doctor has made use of, is only to examine the Interpretation of others, by the severe, yet just, *Rules of Reason*; which they will agree to be very reasonable, when they shall reflect, that the Passions and Interests of Men, have not only emboldned them to misinterpret the *sacred Writ* to their own Ends, but also to add to, and detract from the very Text it self.

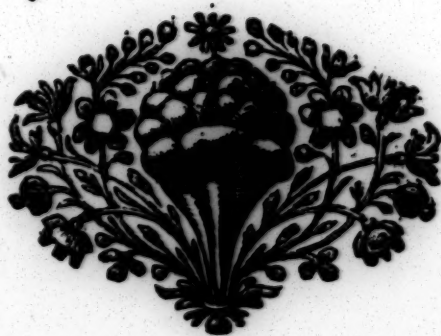
Thus they have brought into Question several Parts of the New Testament, and among others particularly the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which in some Manuscripts is left out, and even in that of *Beza*, which is very ancient, it is put by it self at the End, like an Apocryphal Piece.

St. *Jerome* is a farther Testimony of this who had the Supervisal and Correction of the *Latin* Bible; he assures us, that having Recourse to the *Greek*, he found those Copies as defective, and as much altered by the Transcribers as those of the *Latin*.

This Liberty of Reasoning I have been so long pleading for, our severest Opponents will grant us in Philosophical and Historical
Points,

xxxii *An Essay on Reason in Religion:*

Points, of which that Part of the *Archæologiæ* which relates not to *Religion*, is composed: I shall therefore say nothing in Defence of them, nor obviate those Objections I foresee will be made against them by those that do not consider, that we judge of Things of that Nature but by bare Appearances and Probabilities. It will be time enough to defend them when they are Attacked. So that I shall now conclude, in the Words of Archbishop TILLOTSON, *There can be no greater Argument that Reason is against a Man, than when a Man is against Reason.*



Archæologiæ Philosophicæ:

OR, THE

Philosophical Principles

OF

T H I N G S.

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONER

OF THE LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1881

The most august PRINCE
WILLIAM,
King of *Great Britain, France,*
and Ireland.

I HAD not presumed to prefix the
sacred Name of so great a Monarch
to my Performance, unless both
Duty and Gratitude had obliged me
to pay such an Acknowledgment. For,

DEDICATION.

how mean an Offering must the Fruit of a slender Wit or Scholastick Amusement prove to You, to whom we owe our All; Fortune, Liberty, and Life itself: and what is yet more dear, the continuance of Religion? Nor can we pretend to celebrate your Praises in a proper Manner, since we are even unequal to the Attempt of duly expressing our Thankfulness.

There are two Virtues, most Excellent KING, which principally shine in the Composition of a Hero; Fortitude and Clemency. We do not proclaim You valiant, but we lament that Your Courage is so unbounded as to hazard that precious Life, on which all our Security depends; and put thereby the Head of every Subject in Danger.

Nor

D E D I C A T I O N.

Nor shall we display Your Clemency, so conspicuous to the Universe: But, must humbly pray that the Kingdom may receive no Prejudice from the excessive Indulgence of our CÆSAR.

Let others affect inglorious Triumphs without Toil or Victory, or catch at Laurels without Virtue; but it becomes a great General or valiant Soldier, who merits Honour, to be able to number his Battles at least, if not to produce his Wounds; and recollect those Engagements, into the midst of which he plunged intrepid, tho' furrounded with Swords and Flames. And the Man who desires to be extolled for his Clemency, ought not to present to our View, or that of Posterity, Cities in a Blaze, or Towns laid waste in Ashes, as Monuments of that delightful Virtue.

A 3 Moreover,

DEDICATION.

Moreover, it is beneath a great Man to forfeit his Honour and break his Covenants, and most solemn Engagements, which have ever been esteemed sacred among all Nations; both by divine and human Authority. Such Proceedings can only issue from degenerate Minds, and in vain do they seek after the noble Title of Magnanimity, who refuse to behave themselves as just and honest Persons.

But Your Behaviour, most Serene Sovereign, is of a different Nature, Your Conduct is intirely opposite to such dishonourable Proceedings: For I can truly affirm, that the Faith of all *Europe* securely relied on Your publick and important Transactions; and neither at Home nor Abroad, in Peace or in War, could there be any Colour found to stain Your Honour, or fix the least Blot on Your Fidelity. These

DEDICATION.

These shall be Your Praises, nor need we mention Your Extraction or Progenitors, tho' they glitter in a long Descent, and were renowned for the most celebrated Actions. For what Royal Stem is more illustrious, more ancient, than the Race of *Nassau*? What Lineage ever brought greater Benefits to the Christian World?

But Your own Virtue is sufficient to adorn You, and the Glory which a Commander gains by his own Bravery, vastly transcends that which has been transmitted from his Ancestors.

Go on, Thou victorious Prince, under the auspicious Influences of Heaven: and strike off the Yoke from the *Britons*, as once Thou didst from thy Countrymen; excite thy wonted Cou-

DEDICATION.

rage in the Field of Battle, and adorn the ancient Dignity of both Nations, with new and brightening Trophies; and as *Hercules* of old was famous for the Conquest of wild Beasts and Monsters, so may the House of *Nassau* continually be celebrated as the grand Subduers of Tyrants.

Your Majesty's

1692.

most humble Subject,

and Chaplain,

Thomas Burnet.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE State of Learning makes a considerable Part of the History of Mankind. Now in the History of Literature, there can be nothing more excellent or profitable than to explain the various Opinions of Philosophers, and what they professed in different Sciences: as for other Matters which frequently make up a literary History, such as the Lives of Philosophers, the Circumstances of their Births, and Funerals, their Praises, Travels, together with their good and bad Actions, and Particulars of the like Nature, they do indeed fill up and adorn the Subject; but are of lesser Moment when we are endeavouring to search out the Seeds and Progress of human Knowledge, and the Government and Oeconomy of divine Providence in this Affair.

Therefore, in this our present Work, omitting, or but lightly touching on these minuter Circumstances, we shall chiefly enquire concerning

ii The P R E F A C E.

cerning the Opinions of the Ancients about the Nature of Things. And this will contribute to the Praise and Vindication of Antiquity: And we shall make it appear that as our Ancestors were not Blockheads, so neither was Wisdom born with us.

As far as we can trace the Footsteps of our Ancestors, and recal the Memory of past Ages, it appears that in every Generation, Men have had not only some Notices of the supreme Being, but also concerning the natural World, the Origin and Conclusion of Things, and the intermediate Vicissitudes; (which three are all that can be imagined) and these Notices we speak of were not only true, but in some measure divine: And therefore we may reasonably imagine, that they received them either from the Sons of Noah, or from the first Origin of Man, rather than from their private Invention or any natural Demonstration.

Farther, as to other Heads and Subjects which constitute the Second Class in Philosophy; namely, those Speculations which relate to the Nature of the Heavens and Celestial Bodies,

The P R E F A C E. iii

Bodies, the Stars, as well those fixed as wandering; it appears by many Instances that the Ancients had no ill Notion of these Matters, and that the Matter and Composition of these Bodies, was not wholly unknown to them. Moreover, it appears that the Form and Order of the Universe, which is called the System of the World, was not discovered by the Ingenuity of Pythagoras; but that he found it with many other Matters of Weight among the Oriental Secrets, and first of all brought it into Greece.

As for what concerns Philosophical Matters of a third Kind, which have reference to the Furniture of this Earth, such as the Elements, and the Orders and Qualities of Terrestrial Bodies, I confess the Antients had but little Success in their Searches after these Things; and in this Respect the Philosophy of our Days, very much out-shines the utmost Knowledge the Ancients could pretend to, whose Praise we do by no Means envy.

In a Word, Philosophy takes its Rise from the greatest Things, and proceeds to the least; and Wisdom shall be consummated, if God so pleases,

iv The P R E F A C E.

pleases, at the End of the World, when the Race of Letters, Things, and Seasons shall be run.

I confess it is but little of the Barbaric Philosophy, or that which was most ancient among the Grecians, which now remains entire and unburt: But as we learn something of the Nature of Grecian Architecture, from broken Columns and decayed Marbles, so from some Fragment of antient Philosophy, we form a Judgment concerning the other Parts of the Work, according to the Rules of Symmetry, and judge of the whole Fabrick. However, in this Archæology, we have followed the Classical Writers, especially the Greek ones, in searching out the Opinions of the Ancients; nor have we fixed an Opinion on any one from Love or Envy; but have sometimes passed by those Errors, which we suspected to have proceeded either from the Ignorance, Carelessness, or Malevolence of the Relators; and have only thought it convenient to bring that to Light, which was beautiful, profitable and worthy to be remembered.

Moreover,

The P R E F A C E. v

Moreover, in our Discourses on ancient Learning, we have expounded many Things concerning the fabulous Way of Philosophizing, which obtained among many Nations for several Ages. And tho' this Method of Writing is now grown obsolete, and gives Place to a severer Kind of Learning, I thought it might not be impertinent to let the Reader know what Figures of Speech, and Peculiarities of Style, the Ancients often made use of; that I might dispel the Darkness from their Writings, and clear them from false Aspersions. It was consistent with their Religion to instruct the People by Fables and honest Frauds; like to what we call officious Lying. They believed that their Gods governed Mankind just as we rule Infants or Boys, according to their Strength and Capacities; oftentimes concealing the Truth, or Painting it in proper Colours, the better to consult their Interest. It is evident, that the Ancients made use of these Inticements, and beautiful Mythology; and reckoned it lawful for Legislators and wise Men to loosen the Reins of Truth, for the sake of a publick Benefit; and, as occasion offered, to philosophise with the Multitude. Yet I

4 have

vi The P R E F A C E.

*have always abstained from a particular Explication of their Fables, than which nothing can be more uncertain; remembering that saying of Aristotle, * Fabulous and uncertain Sophisters are not worthy of a serious Consideration. I had a Mind after an exact Theory of the Earth, to which we have given the finishing Stroke, to write a Theory of the visible World. Not indeed in a universal Manner, for I cannot think my self capable of so great an Undertaking, but a sacred Theory for the Use of studious Divines, that I might, to the utmost of my Power, shew them the Greatness and Order of the Works of God, and by what Laws they are governed. For it concerns all learned Men to know these Things, and Divines are particularly obliged to study them; that thereby they may be able to view the Wisdom and Magnificence of the Creator, in his Works, and may celebrate them with Judgment and Understanding.*

Farther, we ought to understand the Nature of the Stars, those vast Bodies, of what Materials they are framed: these are the Ar-

* METAPH. B. III. C. IV.

The P R E F A C E. vii

mies of Heaven, and the Gods of the Heathen. We should enquire what Changes they undergo in the Revolutions of Ages, what is the Difference between the bright and shady Stars, the fixed and the wandering ones, whence both Kinds have their Original, and the Nature of their Inhabitants, according to probable Reasons. The Contemplation of these Things raises and enlarges the Mind, and fills it with the Image of an immense World.

Hence we fall into Thoughts worthy of God, and despise ourselves, and this little World, as the Refuse or Shavings of the Works of God, and look upon them as nothing.

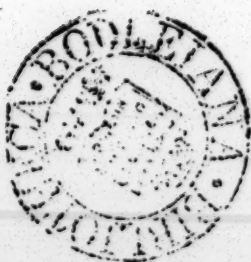
Farther, if we descend to inferior Objects, it will be worth our while to enquire whence spring the Differences of Earthly Bodies, of what Particles the Elements are composed, and how the Virtue and Qualities of those Particles exert themselves: And so likewise, concerning the other Furniture of the Earth, as well animate as inanimate. Lastly, we ought to enquire wherein the Distinction and Union of the Soul and Body do consist;

viii The P R E F A C E.

sist ; and how external Objects act upon our Bodies and Souls. If these and such like general and important Heads, which like a Key might open the Way to more Discoveries, were well considered by Divines, they would leave no Room for Atheistical Pretenders to Philosophy, whose evil Cause is much assisted by our Unskilfulness in natural Things. For they boast among the unskilful, that they are able to give a mechanical Account of the Nature of all Things, without the Consideration of a Deity; than which nothing can be more false and absurd.

I formerly designed to handle these Matters particularly, and clearly, to the utmost of my Ability : but old Age invades me, and Death approaches, and the Day that shall usher in an happy Age, when they shall all appear in the most beautiful Light.

In the mean Time, it is pleasing to leave behind a slender Monument of a Life not spent in Idleness: and having finished, as it were, a short Warfare, then to cease from Labour.



T. BURNET.

Archæologiæ Philosophicæ :

OR, THE

Philosophical Principles of Things.

C H A P. I.

Concerning MOSES'S Description of Paradise, as well as the Original State of Nature and Mankind in the Beginning of the World.

WE have hitherto made our Enquiry after the *Origin of Things*, as well as after a true Knowledge of *Paradise* among the *Ancients*; yet still with reference to Sacred Writ, where it gave us any Manner of Light into the Subject, but think it altogether unnecessary to define the Place or Situation of Paradise; since, in Respect to the *Theory of the Earth*, it is much the same Thing where you place it, provided it be not on our modern Earth. Now if you enquire among the antient Fathers where the Situation of it was, either they will have it to be none at all, or else obscure and remote from our Understanding; some of them indeed term it an intelligible Paradise,

VOL. I.

A

but

but confined to no one particular Place; whilst others at the same time make it a sensible one; and here it is they first divided about it. Moreover, such as believe it to be a sensible and corporeal Paradise, place it either on this Earth, or out of it, (*viz.*) in the Air, or in the Lunar Orb; when they who believe those happy Mansions to have been upon the Earth, place them either on this Side the *Æquator*, under the *Æquator*, or beyond the *Æquator* or *Torrid Zone*; finally, all that are of our Opinion believe, the true Paradise which is now passed away, did in reality formerly flourish upon the Earth, but nevertheless on such an Earth as was quite different from what we now inhabit.

However these different Opinions we have elsewhere more at large explained *; especially that which carries Paradise beyond the *Æquator*, *Torrid Zone*, the Ocean, and our Northern World. Not that this Opinion pleases me above the rest, but because it is demonstrated by the Calculations of the Ancients; and plainly evinces the Paradise we now pretend to place in *Mesopotamia*, to be only a modern Fiction. Besides, as to the *Theory of the Earth*, it does not in the least obviate a local Paradise in any Part of the Earth; since it supposes that the Infant World, even the whole inhabitable Globe was like a Paradise: Yet notwithstanding consequently and agreeably to the *Mosaic Hypothesis*, which makes Mankind how numerous soever to have first received their Birth only from one Man and one Woman. You may therefore (if you please) appropriate the Name of Paradise to the original Native Soil and first Habitation of these two; a Place most wonder-

* See, *Theory of the Earth*, Book II. ch. 6.

fully beautified as well with Trees as Waters; provided at the same time you grant to the other Parts of the same Earth a Perpetual Spring, and those Advantages which necessarily flow from it, (*viz.*) spontaneous Fertility together with long Life to its Inhabitants; for that the World did in its first Beginning enjoy all these Blessings we have sufficiently demonstrated, as well from the Nature of the Thing it self, as from the Testimonies of the Ancients.

Ay but, say you, *Moses* mentions only one Garden which he calls *Gan Eden*, or the Garden of Delicousness; and seems to suppose that all the other Regions of that Earth enjoyed but one and the same common lot with little Variation from our modern Earth: Now to this I answer, That among the Ancients, but more especially the Orientals, there were two different Ways of delivering their Divinity and Philosophy, (*viz.*) δημώδους καὶ ἀπόρρητης, a popular and a hidden one: Of which dubious Sort of Style the Holy Scripture seems to make use in the explaining natural Things; sometimes accommodating it self to the Capacities of the People, and sometimes to the real but more clouded Truth. However, being resolved not in the least to deviate from the very literal Sense without an absolute Necessity; that is to say, unless the Nature of the Thing does unavoidably oblige or inforce me to it; we must first enquire what is in this Case the literal Sense, and how much it will bear; as also, on the other Side, what the subject Matter will bear, and what not; to the end that having thus fairly stated the Case on both Sides, we may be the better enabled to give a certain Determination according to the Merits of the Cause, as well as to disclose where the real Truth lies hid.

4 ARCHAEOLOGIÆ PHILOSOPHICÆ.

Now the History of Paradise (from whence we will begin) according to *Moses* is thus. When God had in six Days finished the Creation of the World, the seventh Day he rested from all Manner of Work: And here *Moses* relates particularly each Day's Operation; but for the Story of Mankind, as well Male as Female, of that he makes a peculiar Treatise by it self. Wherefore omitting the rest at present, let us, if you please, consider the *Mosaic* D^{ist}ine upon these three Subjects, (*viz.*) *Adam*, *Eve*, and the Garden of *Eden*; together with those Things which are interwoven or adherent to them. As to the first Man *Adam*, *Moses* says he was formed, not out of Stones or Dragons Teeth, as others have feigned * concerning their Men; but out of the Dust or Clay of the Earth; and when his Body was formed, *God blew into his Nostrils the Breath of Life*, and *Man was made a living Soul*, Gen. ii. 7. but after another Manner and of other Matter was the Woman built, † (*viz.*) with one of *Adam's* small Bones; for as *Adam* lay asleep, God took away one of his Ribs, and out of that, made *Eve*. The Words of *Moses* are these, *And the Lord God caused a deep Sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his Ribs, and closed up the Fleish instead thereof: And of the Rib which the Lord God had taken from Man, made he a Woman; and brought her unto the Man for a Wife*, Gen. ii. 21.

So much for the Forming of the first Man and first Woman, according to the literal Reading. Now *Moses* has likewise given us a large Account of their first Habitation: He says, that God

* See, The Fable of *Cadmus* in *Ovid's Metamorph.*

† *Hac & hujusmodi ἀνδρώταλα & ἀμυσόταλα* appellat Celsus. Or g. l. 4. p. 186.

made them a certain famous Garden in the East, or as others render it, *ab Antiquo*, of old; and gave it to them as a Farm to cultivate and inhabit; which Garden was a most delightful Place, watered with four several Fountains or Rivers, planted with Trees of all Kinds, as well those that bore Fruit, as those that were agreeable for their Shade and Aspect. Amongst which Trees, in the Midst of the Garden, stood two more remarkable than the rest, whereof one was called the Tree of *Life*, the other the Tree of *Death*, or of the Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*. Why one was called the Tree of Life, is not certain; perhaps, because whoever had eat of it, would from it have received Immortality, as many conjecture. The Effect of the other fatal Experience has sufficiently taught us, *hinc illa lachryma & infandus dolor*. It is for our first Parents eating the Fruit of this Tree, that all their Posterity now smarts; and is punished for a Crime committed some Thousands of Years before they were born. But of this I will here present you with a full Relation.

GOD, upon Pain of Death, prohibits *Adam* and *Eve* from tasting the Fruit of this Tree: But it happened, upon a time, that *Eve* sitting solitary under this Tree without her Husband, there came to her a Serpent or Adder; which, though I know not by what means or power, civilly accosted the Woman (if we may judge of the Thing by the Event) in these Words, or to this Purpose.

Serp. All Hail most fair one, What are you doing so solitary and serious under this Shade?

Eve. I am contemplating the Beauty of this Tree.

Serp. It is truly an agreeable Sight, but much
A 3
pleasanter

pleasanter are the Fruits thereof. Have you tasted them, my Lady?

Eve. I have not, because God has forbidden us to eat of this Tree.

Serp. What do I hear! who is that God that envies his Creatures, the innocent Delights of Nature? Nothing is sweeter, nothing more wholesome than this very Fruit; why then should he forbid it, unless he were in jest?

Eve. But he has forbid it us on Pain of Death.

Serp. Undoubtedly you mistake his Meaning: This Tree has nothing that would prove fatal to you, but rather something Divine, and above the common Force of Nature.

Eve. I can give you no Answer, but will first go to my Husband, and then do as he thinks fit.

Serp. Why should you trouble your Husband about such a Trifle? Use your own Judgement.

Eve. Let me see, had I best use it or no? What can be more beautiful than this Apple? How sweetly it smells! but may be it tastes ill.

Serp. Believe me, it is a Bit worthy to be eaten by the Angels themselves; do but try, and if it tastes ill, throw it away, and say, I am a great Lyar.

Eve. Well, I'll try then. Thou hast not deceived me; it has indeed a most agreeable Flavour. Give me another; that I may carry it to my Husband.

Serp. Very well thought on; here is another for you; go to your Husband with it. Farewel happy young Woman. (*Aside*)—In the mean time I will go my ways, let her take care of the rest.

Accordingly *Eve* gave this Apple to the too uxorious *Adam*, which he likewise eat of; when immediately upon their Eating of it, they became both (I know

know not how) ashamed of their Nakedness, and sowing together Fig-leaves, made them a Sort of Aprons to cover their *pudenda*. Now after these Transactions, God did in the Evening descend into the Garden ; upon which our first Parents fled to hide themselves among the thickest of the Trees ; but in vain, for God called out, *Adam*, where art thou ? When he trembling appeared before the Almighty, and said, Lord, when I heard thee in this Garden, I was ashamed because of my Nakedness, and hid my self amongst the most shady Parts of the Thicket. Who told thee, said God, that thou wert naked ? Have you eaten of the forbidden Fruit ? That Woman thou gavest me, brought it, it was she that made me eat of it. You have finely ordered your Business, you and your Wife ! Here, you Woman, what is this that you have done ? Alas, for me, thy Serpent gave me the Apple, and I did eat of it. This Apple shall cost you dear, and not only you, but your Posterity, and the whole Race of Mankind. Moreover, for this Crime I will curse and spoil the Heavens, the Earth, and the whole Fabrick of Nature. But Thou, in the first place, vile Beast, shalt bear the Punishment of thy Craftiness and Malice. Hereafter shalt thou go creeping on thy Belly, and instead of eating Apples, shalt lick the Dust of the Earth. * As for you Mrs. *Curious*, who so much love Delicacies, in Sorrow shall you bring forth Children ; you shall be subject to your Husband, and shall never depart from his Side, unless having first obtained his leave. Lastly, As for you *Adam*, because you have hearkned more to your Wife than to Me, with the Sweat of your Brow

* Tu verò, curiosa & delicatula, in dolore liberos paries, &c.
A 4 you

you shall obtain your Food both for her and her Children. You shall not gather Fruits, which, as heretofore, grew of themselves; but shall reap the Fruits of the Earth with Labour and Trouble. May the Earth, for thy sake accursed, hereafter grow barren; may she produce Thistles, Thorns, Tares, with other hurtful and unprofitable Herbs; and when thou hast here led a troublesome laborious Life, *Dust thou art, and to Dust thou shalt return.* In the mean while, let these Rebels be banished out of my Garden, and sent as Exiles into strange Lands; lest they also eat the Fruit of the Tree of Life, and live for ever. However, for fear they should perish through the Cold or Inclemency of the Weather, the Almighty made them Doublets of the Skins of Animals; and being thus clad, he thrusts them out of Paradise. Finally, to prevent their Return, he placed Angels at the Entrance of his Garden; who, by brandishing a flaming Sword, and waving it on all sides, guarded the Passage that led to the Tree of Life.

This is the Sum and Substance of *Moses's* Account concerning Paradise, and the first State of Mankind; which, keeping always close to the Sense, I have explained in other Words, that we may more freely judge of the Thing it self; as if it were written by a modern Author. Now that there are in this Relation, some Things Parabolical, and, which will not bear a Construction altogether literal, there are few but do allow. Nay, some proceed farther, and will have even the whole Discourse to be artificially figurative*, in order to explain things that were really true (*viz.*) the new and degenerate Condition of Mankind; as also the Paradisiac-State of Infant Nature, and

* *ἰστορικῶς.*

its Degeneracy. For although in the Beginning of the Discourse, this state of Paradise seems confined only to one Region, which is called *Gan Eden*, yet afterwards, when the Curse of Barrenness comes out, the whole Earth is brought in for a share. *The Earth shall not for the future bring forth her increase of her own accord, nor any of her Fruits without Tillage and Husbandry: but hereafter, saith the Lord, with the sweat of thy brow shalt thou get those things that are necessary for Life and Sustenance.* Whence it is evident, that before this Alteration or Curse, the whole Earth yielded her Increase without Planting or Labour; for otherwise by this Curse, nothing had been made new, nothing had been changed in the Face of Nature. Besides, from another Thing it plainly appears, that one small Country, or some few Acres of Land, such as is a Garden, could not alone enjoy this Fertility, together with those other Privileges as well of Air as Soil; but that the whole inhabitable Globe did partake of them in the primitive State of Things. For suppose *Adam* had continued Innocent, how would there have been Room for his Posterity within the Inclosures of one Garden? Or admit you will have them all shut up there, like so many unfledged Birds in a Nest, what must have been done with all those other vast Tracts of Earth? Should they have stood Empty, Desert, and without Inhabitants? Nature it self does not allow of that, neither is it becoming the Divine Wisdom. From all these Things, we may conclude what is very agreeable to Reason, (*viz.*) That *Moses* puts the Part for the Whole, and laid one Example before the Eyes of the People, instead of a greater Number; because it was more suitable to the Genius and Understanding of the Vulgar, to conceive

conceive a pleasant Garden or single Field, than that the whole Globe of the Earth should put on a new Face and new Nature entirely different from what we now enjoy. But let us proceed in the Road we have begun.

The aforesaid Relation consists of five or six Parts, whereof the first is, concerning the Birth and Formation of the *first* of Mankind. The second, the Description of the Garden of *Eden*. The third is, the History of the *two* Trees of *Life* and *Death*. The fourth treats of the *Serpent's* Conference with *Eve*. The fifth, about the Wrath of God, and his Curse, for eating the forbidden Fruit. Lastly, the sixth contains the Expulsion of these first of Mankind out of the Almighty's Garden, as also how God made them Coats of Skins, and placed Angels with flaming Swords at the Entrance of his Garden; together with other Things hereto belonging.

Great is the Force of Custom and a pre-conceived Opinion, over human Minds. Wherefore these short Observations or Accounts of the first Originals of Men and Things, which we receive from the Mouth of *Moses*, are embraced without the least Demur or Examination of them. But had we read the same Doctrine in another, for Example, in a *Greek* Philosopher, or in a Rabbinical or Mahometan Doctor, we should have stopped at every Period with our Mind full of Objections and Scruples. Now this Difference does not arise from the Nature of the Thing it self, or of the Matter in Hand, but from the great Opinion we have of the Faithfulness and Authority of the Writer, as being divinely inspired. All which we willingly acknowledge, neither do we on this Occasion doubt of our Author's Authority,

thority, but with what Intent it was that he wrote these Things, and what Kind of Style he has made use of, whether *Plebeian* or *Philosophical*; I say, *Plebeian*, and not *Fabulous*, although this last Word might have been used, did we speak of a profane Author. Now of Fables, some are pure Fictions; others are built upon some Foundation, but beautified with Additions and acquired Ornaments. Besides, there are some Relations that have Truth at the Bottom, but not in every particular Point of them; only as to the Substance of the Thing, and Drift of the Author. As in *Christ's* Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and in many Things which are related concerning the Day of Judgement, as to the outward Shell and Form. Such Kind of Relations I think ought not to be termed Fables, but sometimes Parables, and sometimes ὑποθέσεις δημώδεις, Hypotheses adapted to the Vulgar. And if in this Rank you place the Narration we have now in Hand, preserving always the good Name and Honour of the Author, I shall not think it amiss. But let us, if you please, first examine some Articles herein.

As to the Temporal Rise of Mankind, I have ever held it most certain and undoubted; and that upwards of five Thousand Years, according to the Account given us by Sacred Chronology. But out of what Matter the first of Mankind, whether Male or Female was composed, is not so easily discovered, nor of so great Importance to know. If God had a mind to make a Woman, start from one of *Adam's* Ribs, it is true it seems to be a Matter not very proper; but however, out of any Wood, Stone, or other Being, God can make a Woman: And here by the Bye, the
Curious

Curious ask whether this Rib was useleſs to *Adam*, and beyond the Number requiſite in a compleat Body. If not, when it was taken away, *Adam* would have been a maimed Perſon, and robbed of a Part of himſelf that was neceſſary. I ſay *neceſſary*, forasmuch as I ſuppoſe that in the Fa-
brick of a human Body nothing is ſuperfluous, and that no one Bone can be taken away without endamaging the whole, or rendering it in ſome Meaſure imperfect. But if on the other hand, you ſay this Rib was really uſeleſs to *Adam*, and might be ſpared; ſo that you make him to have had only twelve Ribs on one Side, and thirteen on the other; they will reply that this is like a Monster; as much as if the firſt Man had been created with three Feet or three Hands, or had had more Eyes or other Members than the Uſe or Compleatneſs of an human Body requires. But, in the Beginning, all Things were made with Number, Weight and Meaſure; that is to ſay, with all imaginable Exactneſs.

For my Part, I do not pretend to decide this Diſpute; but what more perplexes me, is, how out of only one Rib the whole Maſs of a Woman's Body could be built? For a Rib does not equal the hundredth, perhaps not the thouſandth Part of an entire Body. If you answer that the Reſt of the Matter was taken from elſewhere, certainly *Eve* might much more truly be ſaid to have been formed out of that borrowed Matter, whatever it was, than out of *Adam's* Rib. I know very well, that the * Rabbinical Doctors ſolve this Buſineſs quite another Way; for they ſay, The firſt Man had two Bodies, the one

† *Maimon. Mor. Nev. Pars ii. cap. 30. Gen. i. 27.*

Male,

Male, and the other Female, whose Sides stuck together, or (as some will have it) their Backs; that God cut them asunder, and having thus cloven *Eve* from *Adam*, gave her to him for a Wife. *Plato* has in his *Symposium* something very like this Story, concerning his first Man *Androgynus*, who was afterwards divided into two Parts, Male and Female. Lastly, Others Conjecture (which is not improbable) that *Moses* gave out this original of Woman, to the end he might breed a mutual Love between the two Sexes, as Parts of one and the same Whole; and that by this means he might more effectually recommend to his People his own Institution of Marriage, (which does unite them a second Time) as if it had been imprinted in Nature it self. But leaving this Subject, I will hasten to something else.

Now the second Article treats of God's Garden in *Eden*, watered with four Rivers arising from the same Spring. Which Cœlestial Garden mentioned by *Moses*, some will have to be the same with Διὸς κήπον, *Jupiter's* Garden in *Plato*, * and that in both Places, the History or Allegory is the same, Κατὰ τινὰς ἀρρήτους λόγους Μωσίου, according to the secret Meanings of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* saith †. And I am so much the more willing to embrace these secret Meanings in Relation to the Garden of *Eden*, because there is no Place in the whole World wherewith all the distinguishing Marks and Characters of this Garden may agree: For not to speak of that continual Serenity of the Air, and spontaneous Fertility of the Place; even the very Rivers

* *Sympos.*

† *Præp. Ev. lib. 12. c. 11.*
themselves

themselves afford a most perplexing, and as yet undecided Controversy both to Divines and Geographers, as well Ancient as Modern. Those Rivers are by *Moses* called *Pishon*, *Gihon*, *Hiddekel*, *Perath*: Which the ancient Authors interpret by *Ganges*, *Nile*, *Tigris*, *Euphrates*; and, in my Opinion, very justly. For *Moses* seems to have proposed nothing more to himself than the bringing four of the most celebrated and most fertile Rivers of the whole Earth to the watering of this Garden.

Ay but, say you, these four Rivers do not spring from the same Source, or come from the same Place. It is true, nor any other four Rivers that are named by the Interpreters. Wherefore this Objection will every where hold good, as well against the Ancient as Modern Writers. But although you should reduce these Rivers, only to two, as some do, to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, yet neither have these two Rivers, the same Fountain-head, but this is really and truly an Evasion rather than an Explanation, to reduce, contrary to the History of *Moses*, a greater number of Rivers to a smaller; only that they may the more conveniently be derived from the same Spring; for these are the Words of *Moses*, but *there comes a River out of Eden to water the Garden, and from thence it divides it self into four Branches: The Name of the first is Pishon, &c. Gen. ii. 10.* Whereby it is fully apparent, that either in the Entrance or Exit of the Garden, there were four Rivers; and that those four Rivers did proceed from one and the same Fountain-head in *Eden*. Now pray tell me in what Part of the Earth is this Country of *Eden*, where four Rivers rise from one and the same Spring. But do not go about to say that only two came from

from that Fountain of *Eden*, and that the other two arose from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* where they split near the Sea, and make, as it were, a bifrontic Figure; since this does by no means answer the Words of *Moses*. Besides, he mentions in the first Place, *Pishon* and *Gishon*, and afterwards, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* as lesser Rivers; whereas you on the contrary will have those to be derived from these last, as Rivers of an inferior Order; which is a manifest distorting the Historical Account.

But to end all these Difficulties or Controversies concerning the Originals and Channels of the Rivers that watered Paradise, you will perhaps at last say, that the Springs as well as the Courses of Rivers have been changed by the Universal Deluge. And that we cannot therefore be now certain where it was they formerly broke out of the Earth, and what Countries they passed through. For my part I am much of your Opinion, provided you confess there happened in the Deluge such a Fracture and Disruption of the Earth as we suppose there did; for from only an Inundation or Super-abundancy of Waters, such a change could never possibly happen. Besides, according to what Geography or Hydrography will you have *Moses* to describe these Rivers? *Ante-diluvian*, or *Post-diluvian*? If the latter, there has happened no considerable Alteration of the Earth since the Time of *Moses*, or the Flood; if the former, you then render *Moses's* Description of the Earth altogether superfluous, and un-useful to find out the Situation of Paradise. Lastly, It is hard to conceive that any Rivers, whether these or others, can have subsided ever since the very first Beginning of the World, whether you have regard
to

to their Waters, or to their Channels. The Channels of Rivers used to be made by little and little, as well as by a daily Attrition, for if they had been made, as Ditches and Furrows are, by Earth dug out and heaped upon each Side, or at least on one Side, there would certainly have been, every where seen, great Banks and Heaps of Earth. But we plainly perceive that this is only fortuitous; forasmuch as they often run through Plains, and the River-banks are no more than level with the adjacent Fields. Besides whence could there be had Water at the first Foundation of the World to fill these Channels? If you say that on the third Day when the great Bed of the Ocean was made, the smaller Channels of the Rivers were made also; and as the greatest Part of the Waters of the Abyss fell into the Gulf of the Seas; so the remaining Part descended into those other Channels, and therewith formed the Primitive Rivers: Admitting this, yet the Waters would be not only as Salt as those of the Sea, but there would be no continual Springs to nourish these Rivers; insomuch that when the first Stream of Water had flowed off, there being no fresh Supplies of Water to succeed it, these Rivers would have immediately been dried up: I say, because there were no perpetual Springs: For whether Springs proceed from Rain, or from the Sea, they could neither way have rose in so short a Time. Not from Rain, for it had not as yet rained; neither was it possible that, in the small Space of one Day, the Waters of the Abyss should run down from the most inland Places to the Sea, and afterwards returning through Ways that were never yet opened by them, should strain themselves

themselves through the Bowels of the Earth, and ascend to the Heads of their Rivers. But of Rivers we have said enough, let us now proceed to the rest.

We have, in the third Place, a very strange Account of a Serpent that talked with *Eve*, and enticed her to mistrust God. I must confess we have not yet known that this Beast could ever speak, or utter any Sort of Voice, besides Hissing. But what shall we think *Eve* knew of this Business? If she had taken it for a dumb Animal, the very Speech of it would have so frightened her, that she would not have durst to stay and enter into a Conference with it. If, on the other side, the Serpent had from the Beginning been capable of talking and haranguing, and only lost his Speech for the Crime of having by his Seducements corrupted the Piety and Faith of *Eve*, certainly *Moses* would have been far from passing over in silence this sort of Punishment, and instead of that have mentioned so small a Penalty as that of Licking the Dust. But besides all this, pray will you have the particular Species of Serpents, or all the Beasts of the Field that were then in Paradise; to have been indued with the Faculty of Speaking, like the Trees in *Dodona's* Grove? If you say all, pray what Offence had the rest been guilty of, that they also must lose the Use of their Tongues? If only the Species of Serpents enjoyed this Privilege, how came it about that so vile an Animal, and by Nature the most averse and remote from Mankind, should before all his other fellow Brutes deserve to be Master of so great a Favour and Benefit as that of Speech?

Lastly, since all discoursing and arguing include the Use of Reason, by this very thing you make the Serpent a rational Creature. But I easily imagin those who are great Sticklers for the literal

Interpretation will solve this Difficulty another way : For, say they, under the Shape of this Serpent was hid the Devil, or an Evil Spirit, who using the Mouth and Organs of this Animal, spoke to the Woman as it were with an human Voice. But what Testimony, what Authority, have they for this ? The most literal Reading of *Moses*, which they so closely adhere to, does not express any thing of it ; for what else does he seem to say, but that he attributes the Seducing of *Eve* to the natural Craftiness of the Serpent, and nothing else ? For these are *Moses's* Words : Now the Serpent was more cunning than any Beast of the Field that the Lord God had made : (Afterwards continues he) *The Serpent said to the Woman, Yea, hath God said—* But besides, had *Eve* heard an Animal, by nature dumb, speak through the means of some Evil Spirit, she would instantly with horror have fled from the Monster. When on the contrary she very familiarly received it ; they discoursed and argued very amicably together, as though nothing new or astonishing had happened. Again, if you say, that all this proceeded from the Ignorance and Weakness of a Woman, it would, on the other side, have been but just, that some good Angels should have succoured a poor ignorant weak Woman, those just Guardians of human Affairs would not have permitted so unequal a Conflict : For what if an Evil Spirit, crafty and knowing in Business, had by his subtlety over-reached a poor silly Woman, who had not as yet seen the Sun either rise or set, who was but newly come of the Mould, and wholly unexperienced in all things ? Certainly a Person who had so great a Price set on her Head, as the

Salva-

Salvation of all Mankind, might well have deserved a Guard of Angels. Ay, but perhaps (you will say) the Woman ought to have taken care not to violate a Law established upon Pain of Death: *The day you eat thereof, you shall surely die*, both you and yours; this was the Law. Die! What does that mean, says the poor ignorant Virgin, who as yet had not seen any Thing dead, no not so much as a Flower; nor had yet with her Eyes or Mind perceived the Image of Death (*viz.*) Sleep nor Night. But what you add concerning his Posterity and their Punishment, that is not at all expressed in the Law. Now no Laws are ever to be distorted, but especially not those that are pœnal. The Punishment of the Serpent will also afford no inconsiderable Question, if the Devil transacted the whole Thing under the Form of a Serpent; or if he compelled the Serpent to do or suffer those Things, why did it pay for a Crime committed by the Devil? Moreover as to the Manner and Form of the Punishment inflicted on the Serpent, (*viz.*) that for the future he should go creeping on his Belly; it is not easie to be explained what that means. Hardly any one will say that the Serpent did before walk upright, or after the Manner of fourfooted Beasts; and if, on the other Side, from the Beginning he crept like our modern Snakes, it may seem ridiculous to impose on this Creature, as a Punishment for one single Crime, a Thing which by nature he ever had before. But let this suffice for the Woman and Serpent, let us now go on to the Trees.

I here understand those two Trees which stood in the Middle of the Garden, (*viz.*) the Tree of Life, and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The Tree of Life was (they

will tell you) so called, for that it would give Men a very long Life. But, by what follows in the same Relation, we find that all our Forefathers before the Flood, did without the Help of this Tree attain to a very great Age. Besides, if the Longævity or Immortality of Men had depended only upon one Tree, or its Fruit, What if *Adam* had not sinned; how could his Posterity, when they were diffused over the Face of the whole Earth, have been able to come and gather Fruit out of this Garden, or from this Tree? Or how could the Product of one Tree have been enough for all Mankind? As to the other Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, it does not so plainly appear what was its Virtue, or from whence it received that Name. It seems, by I know not what Juice or other Virtue, to have instilled into them a new Sense of Shame and Modesty; or, as it is expressed, of Nakedness, as though before the Fall they had been wholly void of Bashfulness in venereal Pleasures; yet, now adays, in Things of that Kind, even the most innocent have some Sense of Shame. I know not what St. *Austin* means, when he says, that in the first State and Innocence of Mankind, Women would have conceived and brought forth without violating their *Claustum Virginalæ*, the Seed being immitted, and the Offspring coming forth through the Pores, as do Virgins monthly Purgations; and that the whole Act of Generation would have been performed without any Sting or Transport, just as one Hand rubs another. If these Things were taken exactly according to the Rules of Nature and Philosophy, they would be very difficult to solve. But God seems to intimate quite another Virtue in this Tree, when he says, *Behold Adam*

is become as one of us, knowing Good and Evil; (viz.) by the Force and Virtue of the Fruit which he had eaten. Now certainly whatever Heat or Transport arises from a vicious inordinate Motion, is so far from making us like God, that it on the contrary renders us but the more dissimilar to him.

Having thus therefore spoken sufficiently concerning the Trees, let us next proceed to the rest. Now after the eating this Apple, Fig, or whatever other Fruit it was, our Parents made themselves Aprons: For, says the Text, they sewed together Fig-leaves, and therewith made themselves Aprons. From whence you may deduce the Original of the *Taylor's* Trade, but where had they Needles? And where their Thread that very first Day of their Creation? since the Thread-makers Art was not yet found out, nor yet the Art of Working in Iron. All which Questions may perhaps be thought a little too free, but the Thing it self requires us to deal freely, when we are seeking for naked Truth. When they had thus made themselves Aprons, God gave them likewise Coats made of the Skins of Animals. But here again we run into other Difficulties, wherefore to soften the Thing, let us suppose an Angel to have been in the Place of God, that it was an Angel who killed and fleaed the Animals, or pulled off their Skins whilst they were yet alive and innocent. Notwithstanding this too smells more of the Butcher or Executioner than of an Angel. Besides, through this Butcher some intire Species of Animals must necessarily have perished; for it is not believed that from the Beginning there were more than two of each Kind created; and one alone, without another for its Consort, could never have produced any Offspring. After all this, what follows? Why, God

expelled our Parents thus cloathed out of Paradise, and placed, at the Entrance of the Garden, Cherubims with a great two handed flaming Sword, that continually waved about the same, for fear lest either by open force, or by stealth, they might have repossess themselves again of those happy Mansions. Now is there any one of the Interpreters that will put an exact literal Construction upon these Things? that will make Angels to have stood like Centinels, with drawn Swords before the Doors of the Garden, for I know not how many Ages, as Dragons are feigned by the Poets to have guarded the Apples of the *Hesperides*? But how long did this Angelical *Corps du Guard* last? To the Flood, I suppose, if not longer. So that you here suppose the Angels to have been for above fifteen Hundred Years employed in keeping a Garden. *Sic vacat exiguis Rebus adesse Deo*? How much easier would it have been, in a Place so well watered as Paradise, to have fenced the Garden about with a River? which to *Adam* and *Eve*, who were as yet ignorant of the manner either of Building, or conducting Boats and Vessels, would have been a more than sufficient Obstacle: But these, and other Things of this Nature, lest they should be thought to favour of Malice, I had rather leave for others to reflect upon.

Thus have we in short run over the chief Heads of the History of Paradise; the only Thing now remaining to be considered, is, In how short a Time all these Things are said to have been transacted, in one Day's Time, or perhaps, but in half a Day. Divines suppose *Adam* to have consummated his Marriage with *Eve*, the first Night; otherwise, say they, if *Eve*, whilst she was yet Innocent, had conceived her first Born,
she

she would have likewise brought him forth innocent and free from all Blemish of Sin: Whence also his whole Progeny, in Relation to the Father's Side, would have continued unspotted with it. But there is none of that Sort of Progeny unspotted, or so much as half pure, we are all of us tainted with the same Blemish, have all the same Disease. Wherefore we must necessarily suppose all these Things to have been done on the sixth Day of the Creation, before their Lying together, or the Embraces of their Nuptial Bed. How many therefore, and how great Things must we heap on this one Day! We will, if you please, briefly run them over. That Day did God create all Manner of Cattle, all Manner of wild Beasts, and all Sorts of creeping Things: Lastly, he created *Adam*; and when he had created all these Things, he brought each Kind of Animal before *Adam*, that to every one of them he might give a Name according to their several Faculties. As for me, what Language *Adam* could speak the first Hour or Day of his Nativity, I am wholly ignorant of; but however it be, since there are so many different Ranks and Families of Animals, to weigh and consider well the Nature of each, and afterwards to give them a Name adapted to it, seems a Task that requires no small Time. Again, when all this Work was in some manner finished, God cast *Adam* into a deep Sleep, and whilst he was snoring took from him a Rib, out of which he built a Woman: The same Day this new born Man and Woman commit Matrimony without Contract, or the formal Preliminaries of Wooing: And that very same Day Mistress Bride being, to I know not what Intent,

pleased to ramble among the Groves of the Garden, happened to meet with the Serpent: This Serpent begins a Discourse with her; they argue on one Side and the other, about a certain Tree, and eating, or not eating a certain Fruit. She, at length overcome by his Reasons or seducing Expressions, eats of this Fruit; and not only that, but carries it to her Husband, who likewise eats of it. Upon this there happens a great Alteration, they cast their Eyes on each other's Nakedness, are ashamed, and make themselves Aprons of Fig-leaves sewed together.

When, Things being in this Posture, God Almighty in the Evening descends into the Garden; they, conscious of their own Guilt, fly away, and abscond themselves among the Trees and shady Coverts, but all in vain; for God summons the Criminals, they appear, and upon Examination of the whole Cause, he Decrees to the Man, Woman, and Serpent the several Punishments they had merited. Lastly, to fulfill all Parts of the Punishment, our Parents are cast out of Paradise, and sent into Exile: When several Angels being placed at all the Avenues of the Garden, they are forced to wander alone among the Woods, and take up their Lodging among the wild Beasts. All which Things we read to have been done within the small Space of one Day; truly a very considerable and very numerous Piece of Business. But I cannot bear to see, that in so short a Time all Things were inverted and put into a total Disorder; and that the whole Frame of Nature which had but just now been composed and polished, should, before the first Time of the Sun's setting, fall to Ruin and Confusion. In the Morning God said all Things were
good;

good ; and in the Evening of the same Day, all Things are accursed. Alas ! how fleeting and unconstant is the Glory of Things created ! A Work that was six Days 'ere it could be elaborate and brought to Perfection, and that by an Omnipotent Architect, to be thus in as few Hours ruined by so vile a Beast. Now this is a faithful Account of Matter of Fact contained in the History of Paradise and Creation of Mankind, as also of the Time wherein each Part of the said History was produced : All which Things when I revolve in my Mind, which is wholly unbyassed and ready to comply on either Side, where right Reason and the Love of Truth conduct me ; I cannot be angry with those of the Fathers and ancient Writers who have endeavoured to convert these Things into Symbols, Parables, or Ways of discoursing adapted to the Vulgar. But am angry with *Celsus*, who calls this Account an old Wive's Tale ; upon which *Origen* tells him very well by way of Answer, ὅτι μετὰ τροπολογίας ταῦτα ἔρηται, that these Things were spoken in a figurative Sense. However *Celsus* himself does in what follows acknowledge, that the fairest Interpreters both among the *Jews* and *Christians* were ashamed of the literal Sense, and therefore accommodated them to Allegories. Hence you may see, that in the first Ages of the Christian Church, (at which Time *Celsus* lived) as also among the *Jews* before Christ's Birth, the more candid Interpreters deviated from the literal Reading of *Moses's* History. And really it seems a very cruel and very hard Thing in this respect, that God should be said to have tormented, nay, and ruined Mankind for so small a Fault, and that too committed through the Levity of a Woman's Mind.

Mind. Wherefore some are of Opinion (which I am not much averse to) that *Moses* laid so vast a Punishment on so small a Crime, only to the end he might procure the greater Deference and Authority to his own Laws, which often decree with the strictest Severity Things frivolous, and in their own Nature indifferent. For who would not fear to violate the most petty, inconsiderable Precept that comes in the Name of God, if the Eating of one forbidden Apple could bring Perdition to all Mankind? But upon these and the other Articles in *Moses's* Narration, let every one enjoy his own Sentiments, provided he do not destroy the Foundation.

Now by Foundation, I here mean the Doctrine of the Temporal Rise of Mankind, as well as of this Earth; and the Degeneration of both; and that Mankind will be redeemed by the Seed of a Woman. In this blind State of Mortality we are all prone to Errour; and among the Duties of Charity, it is not the least for us to indulge and succour one another when we are erroneous. For my own Part, I call God to Witness (who knows our most secret Thoughts) that in this or any other Writing I never proposed more to my self, than the Promotion of Piety founded upon Truth. Neither do I in this Discourse about Paradise, and the Origination of Mankind affirm any Thing positively, but with Modesty and Submission, that I may the better fathom the Judgements of discreet, well-minded Persons. Who if they will but with me consider the Usage and Genius of the Primitive Ages, more especially among the Oriental Nations (whose Custom it was to deliver their Decrees and Doctrines by Symbols, Similitudes, and Parables) if they do
not

not concur with, will yet at least not be prejudiced against, those who explain ancient Things after this manner.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Origin of Things, as they are expounded in the First Chapter of Genesis; together with the Manner of Interpreting Moses's Hexaëmeron, that is to say, his Account of the Creation performed in Six Days.

WHAT Reflections we have made in the foregoing Chapter about the Original of Things, chiefly respect Mankind, as also their Causes and primary State. But the Original of Things inanimate, and the Universe, as *Moses* describes it in the First Chapter of *Genesis*, seems no less contrary to the Theory of the Earth. This Account therefore which *Moses* gives us of the World, being much ancients than all those others before mentioned, we ought to examine it the more diligently, and so to compose or dilute these Controversies by a friendly Interpretation, that Truth (which is alike necessary to each of them) may at the same time be inviolably preserved.

The *Hexaëmeron* and Theory (it is true) agree in their first Foundation of Things: For as they both suppose the Chaos to have been the
Matter

Matter out of which the World was built. So they likewise agree in their general Order, making the World to have been first inanimate, and then afterwards animated. But, as to the rest, for Example, the Form and Limits of the created World, as also the Manner, Time and other Things, they do not a little differ; all which we must now at large examine.

It is first therefore to be observed, what Form, and what Limits of the World the *Hexaemeron* has proposed to its self. Now it is well known, that betwixt the Learned and the Vulgar there are two different Systems of the World, whereof one supposes the Sun to be the Centre, and the other the Earth. Quære then upon which of these two Systems is *Moses's Hexaemeron* grounded? It is most certain, that *Moses* has begun his Work from the Earth, as the Basis or Foundation of the whole Machine; and that he did not produce the Sun (according to what he says) till the fourth Day, at which time the Structure of the Earth and Sea was already finished. The Sun was not therefore the Centre of the whole Work, since it had no Being, till the Work was half brought to Perfection. Besides, as well the Sun as the rest of the Heavenly Bodies, are by *Moses* represented to have been created meerly for the Use of the Earth, and in a manner but as so many servile Bodies, whose only Business was to measure out to us the Days, Years, and the rest of the several Seasons. But according to the other Hypothesis, the Sun and fixed Stars are not only very great, but also very noble Bodies, bearing the first Rank amongst the various Parts of the Universe, and being as it were the Foundations of that prodigious Mass. It is

is evident therefore from both these Reasons, that *Moses* has followed the popular System; that which most pleases the People, and which most flatters our Senses, is easiest believed and comprehended, or at least seems to be comprehended by the greater Number: And in so doing, he rightly consulted the Publick Safety; when neglecting Philosophy, he adhered to more serious Counsels and Reasons of greater weight.

Secondly, Since it is evident that the Earth was the Centre of the *Mosaick* Chaos, it is next to be enquired after, how far upwards this blind and confused Mass did reach. The *Hexameron* truly seems to suppose that this Chaos filled and possessed the whole Universe how great soever, together with all the Heavens and Regions of the Air, which way soever they were diffused; as also that the brightest and most resplendent Stars were composed of this Chaotick Matter, and that there were not any before the Birth and Creation of this our Earth. Which is what the very Letter of the *Hexameron* seems to import, and absolutely contradictory to the Nature of Things, as well as to all Philosophical Reasons. It is most certain that the fixed Stars are fiery Bodies; that they do not all rest upon the same Superficies; some being more remote from the Earth, and more profoundly immersed in the Heavens, than others; and that upon this score there can be no common Centre assigned to all of them, at least, to believe our modern Earth (a blind and sordid Particle of the Universe, inferiour to each of the fixed Stars, as well in Bulk as in dignity) to be the Heart, the most noble and vital Part of so vast a Body, is altogether irrational and repugnant to the Nature

Nature of Things. I speak it again with Indignation, that to say or almost to think, that this Earth, the Dregs, the meer Scum of Nature, is the supream Head of all Things, and as it were the first-born Product of the whole Creation, cannot be without an Abuse and Scandal, as well to the Operator, as to the Work. Besides, if that earthly Chaos had been extended throughout the vast Face of the Universe, and that this Earth were the only Centre in which all the grosser Parts convened, the same Earth or middle Body, being the common Receptacle of all the grosser Parts, would have grown up to a Bulk infinitely bigger than this little Earth of ours. For the sublunary Chaos (or that which reaches to the Moon) is of it self sufficient to make up this Earth: And if to this you add the whole visible Heaven, and those Spaces above the Heavens, which are not obvious to our Senses, but surpass all our Imagination; neither the Sun, nor any visible Body is of so great a Magnitude as would be that Body composed in the Midst of the Chaos. Moreover, that as well the corporeal as the incorporeal World is more ancient than this inhabitable Earth, may in some measure be proved out of Ecclesiastical Authors, if we strictly examine the Thing.

Many Fathers of the Christain Church were of Opinion, that before the Earth or *Mosaick* World, there had been Angels for many Ages unknown to us; and some also mention the same of the highest Heaven or Firmament. But this Opinion of the Angels is a Thing more positively asserted, and by a greater Number. Not to speak of *Origen*, *St. Basilus* says this in his

his *Hexaemeron*; Chrysostom. πρὸς τὰς σκανδα-
 λισθέντας, cap. 7. πολλῶ ταύτης τ' κτίσεως πρε-
 βύτερον, &c. Gregorius Nazianzenus Orat. 38. and
 in other Places. Johannes Damascenus, l. 2. Orth.
 Fid. cap. 3. Joh. Philoponus, de Creatione mundi, lib.
 1. cap. 10. ult. Olympiodorus upon Job xxxviii. and
 others of the Greeks have taught the same; not
 a few also of the Latins have been of that
 Opinion. Hilarius, l. 12. de Trin. St. Jerom.
 Ambrosius (in Hexam. l. 1. c. 5.) Isidorus His-
 palensis, Beda, and others. Accordingly these
 are St. Jerom's own Words upon the Subject.—
 Our World has not yet seen six Thousand Years: and
 what Eternities, what vast Tracts of Time, what
 inexhaustible Fountains of Ages ought we to suppose
 have been before it, in which the Angels, Thrones,
 Powers, and other Vertues have served God? In the
 Book de Trinitate (whether it was written by
 Novatian or Tertullian) as well the Angelical
 World as the Spaces above the Firmament, are
 said to have been made before the Mosaical
 World, in these Words; Although in the higher
 Regions (viz.) those above the Firmament it self, he
 did before institute Angels, spiritual Vertues, Thrones
 and Powers, as also create many other vast Tracts
 of the Heavens, &c. Insomuch that this World ap-
 pears rather to be the last Work of God, than his
 sole and only one. To which Passage adds Da-
 melius, —Novatian was not only of this Opinion,
 but also St. Jerome, together with all the Greeks,
 that the Angels were sooner instituted, (viz.) before
 any Part of the Creation of our present World.
 Lastly, Cassian tells us, That this was the common
 Opinion of the Catholicks in his time; which was at the
 Beginning of the fifth Age: Whereof (says he) none
 of the Faithful doubt. And having fully explained
 this

this generally received Opinion, he afterwards adds, *It is most certain and undoubted, that God created all the celestial Powers before that temporal Beginning of the Creation.* But to remove all Doubt concerning the Pre-existence of Angels, we have the very Words which the Lord himself spake to Job, chap. xxxviii. 4, &c. *Where wast thou when I laid the Foundations of the Earth: when the morning Stars sang my Praises, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy?* Whereupon, says Olympiodorus, ἀπὸ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι πρῶτοι οἱ Ἄγγελοι τῷ κόσμῳ γέγεννηται. It is plain from this Passage, that in the Creation of this World the Angels were first made. Forasmuch as these Words certainly imply, that before the Foundations of the Earth were laid, there were Angels, and that they sang Praises to God at the first Building of our World. Likewise if you take the Morning Stars according to the very Letter, it is most certain that the Stars and Heavens also preceeded the Foundation of our Earth.

Besides, St. Jerome makes intellectual Beings pre-existent to the World, by those Passages of Scripture, where something is said to have been done, *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*, Tit. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 9. or *πρὸ αἰώνων*, 1 Cor. ii. 2. 7. *before the World began.* Nor is there less included in this Expression, *πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦ κόσμου*, 1 Pet. i. 20. Ephes. i. 4. John xvii. 5. and 24. *Before the Foundation of the World was laid.* Which does not denote a bare Eternity, but the Periods and Foundation of this World. Before both which did exist the Soul of the Messiah, and the Mystery of the Christain Oeconomy. But to return again to the Angels.

Lastly,

Lastly, We can evince the same by the Sacred Oracles and Authority of the Fathers, as well as by Reason and Arguments. The Fall of the Angels was before the Creation of the World; therefore they were before created, and that for some Ages. For really it is not at all probable, that the most excellent Creatures were made of so frail a Nature, as that on the very Day of their Birth they should fall into Evil and Misery; neither is it consistent with the *Deus Opt. Max.* the kind Father of all Intelligent Beings, to place the most noble Part of his Work in so slippery a Station, that no sooner had their Maker taken his Hand from off them, but they immediately fell head-long into Destruction; damned to the utmost of Torments, and a most dismal Hell. Which being thus stated, let us pass on from the Angels to the corporeal World; wherein we are first to observe; That if the Angels had not any ways been united with Matter, nor had from it received any Pleasure, or any Sort of Perception, it could scarce have been possible that they should have been wrested from their Habitations and first State: For pray where were the Places that these pre-existent Angels did inhabit? *Basilus* says, they dwelt in the Heavens and Light. Many of the Ancients did (as it is well known) attribute to the Angels *Σώματα λεπτά*, thin Bodies, and not gross terrestrial ones like ours. And the second *Nicene* Council would have this Doctrine proposed out of the Book of *John* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, to be confirmed; these are the Words: *Concerning the Angels, Arch-Angels, and their Powers, to which I also joyn our own Souls:* This is the Opinion of the Catholick Church; that they are, it is true, intelligible, yet not

wholly Incorporeal and Invisible, as you *Gentiles* say, but endowed with a thin and aerial or fiery Body; as it is written, *Who makes his Angels Spirits; and those that minister unto him a flaming Fire.* This we know to have been the Opinion of many Holy Fathers, amongst whom are *Basilus* sur-named the Great, *St. Athanasius*, *Methodius*, and those that follow them: Not that they suppose Angels to be Bodies, but like human Souls to be invested with Bodies; yet not such as are moulded up of the same Clay, with our modern ones, but thin and pure like Air or Fire: Of the same Nature as those we shall one Day have, when we come to be *ἰσαγγελοι*, equal to the Angels.

Lastly, Those who Interpret that Passage, *Gen. vi. 2*, &c. of the Angels joyning themselves with the Daughters of Men (which not a few of the Fathers, and others do) must necessarily assert that the Angels have Bodies, proper and agreeable to their own Nature. From all which we may conclude, that together with the Angels some Cœlestial Matter did exist before the Earth. But of whatever Kind this thin, subtle, and lucid Matter was, it could not exist by it self, and before the remaining Part of the Mass of Matter. For all Matter was together, and at once produced out of Nothing. Neither may we conceive the Action of the Creation as divided into Parts and distant Ages; whilst the Rest of the Regions and Tracts of the World remained empty. For my Part, if an Atom, or the smallest Particle of Matter existed before the *Mosaical* Epocha, I am of Opinion that the whole Mass of the Universe did the same. And by the same Rule, if that Angelical Matter,
or

or Vehicle of the Angels preceeded the Beginning of the Earth, all Matter in general did (as the *Greek* Fathers argue) in some measure preceed it : but its Disposition and Order according to its different Parts, Situations, and Forms, have by the Decree of Providence been from time to time varied, sometimes after one manner, and sometimes after another. Thus by the Authority of the Fathers we have hitherto treated of the Pre-existence of Angels and of Matter it self, as it hath a Connection with the Angels; let us now therefore return to the Nature of Things, and to the visible World; for in the Corporeal we have as many Arguments to confirm the same Antiquity of Matter; and sufficiently to demonstrate that the *Mosaical* Epocha of about six thousand Years, does not comprehend the Original of the whole Universe, but the Age of our Earth, and the Time since it was formed out of its Chaos. If we again consider the *Phænomena* of the Heavens, and the Companies of both wandering and fixed Stars, we shall easily believe that so numerous a Progeny, and which was worthy of a better Parent, could not be the Off-spring of one earthly Chaos; nor admit of their Ages and Histories being included within the Limits of so small a Time; wherefore let us, if you please, call to mind a Thing which is now no longer doubted of, (*viz.*) that the Earth is a Planet; and that besides the Earth there are many Planets of the same Nature, as well as of the like Matter and Form. All which, it is probable, have had the same Manner and Principle of Birth; that is, every one out of its own Chaos. Moreover, since the Creation of the Earth, we

have not seen the Birth of any one new Planet; for which Reason certainly they are all either older than the Earth, or as old. Now if you grant the former, it is all we desire; and if you make them of the same Age with the Earth, you must suppose as many Chaos's as there are primary Planets since. For example, it is certain that *Jupiter*, who wheels about his own Statellites or Tenders, is a Center to himself, and does not any ways depend on our Earth, as neither do any of the rest, except it be the *Moon*. Again, the fixed Stars seem ancients than the Planets, and to be each of them the Center of its own Orb or Vortex: As many Systems therefore must be constituted in the Heavens as there are fixed Stars; which being very great both as to Number and Bulk, would swallow up this little Point of Earth, as if it were less than nothing; wherefore whoever has any Favour for the Heavens, and is an unbiassed Observer of God's Works, will not easily consent to have their Originals deduced from the Earth, or dependent on it.

Lastly, It is probable that the Planets were formerly fixed Stars, and that the Earth it self ought to be numbred in the same Rank. It will be no easy Matter for you to solve the Originals of the Planets by any other Hypothesis; at least, not if they have Fire in their Center, which it is very probable they have. Besides, we sometimes see the Face of the Sun overgrown with thick Spots, and perceive him for some Days pale, obscure, and as it were, in the Pangs of Death; but he that is Sick may Die; and what happens to one, may happen to others of the same Kind (now all the fixed Stars are homogeneous)

mogeneous) therefore the fixed Stars are perishable. Now a fixed Star perishes, and is extinguished, when being crufted over with a thick Shell or Scurf which it cannot break through, it degenerates into an obscure and opake Body, such as is a Planet. Finally, the new Stars that have of late Years appeared in the Heavens, have not, it is probable, I mean in respect to their Originals, had any Connection or Communication with the Earth; neither have the Comets: which, although in some Things they are dubious and hard to be explained, do to me seem nothing else, but (as one may say) the dead Bodies of the fixed Stars, unburied; and not as yet composed to Rest, they like Shadows wander up and down through the various Regions of the Heavens, till they have found out fit Places for their Residence, which having pitched upon, they stop their irregular Course, and being turned into Planets, move circularly about some Star. Whereas, if according to another Hypothesis, Comets are held to have been just the same from the Beginning, they take such vast Tours, make such immense Circles and Periods, that no Man can prove we ever saw the same Comet twice in one and the same Part of its Circuit. These and the like *Phænomena* of the Heavens can hardly, without using some Violence to the Laws of Nature, be reduced to an Epochæ of six thousand Years. We should much rather confess, that our Earth had not the same Original, nor is of the same Age with the whole Universe, whether Intellectual or Corporeal. Nor is it to be wondered at, that *Moses* did not distinguish them, or treat of the Original of the Universe apart, from that of our Sublunary World; since

the common People never distinguish these Things, nor have any separate Idea of them. The greatest Part of Mankind esteems the remaining Part of Nature, and of the Universe, only as the Appendix of our World or Earth, worth nothing of it self, but created meerly for our Use and Benefit. It was therefore not without much Reason, that our most wise Law-giver left it to the Philosophers as their Business, that when human Understanding was through Age, Use, and Observations come to a greater Maturity, they might digest the Works of God into another Method adapted to the Divine Perfections and Nature of Things. But enough of this Subject, let us now proceed to something else.

Thirdly, Moses in his *Hexaemeron* mentions a famous *Phænomenon*, whereof we have not any Appearance, I mean his Waters above the Firmament, in making or disposing of which, he tells us God spent one entire Day; which is no less Time than he employed about the Sun, Moon, and all the Host of Heaven! It is true, these noble Bodies deservedly claim to themselves twenty-four Hours labour, but to an obscure unknown Thing we cannot but grudge so much Work. Let us make a Search therefore after these invisible Waters, let us enquire what are the Places they now possess, or where they have formerly resided. *Moses* says, they were placed above the Firmament; but the Sun with the rest of the Stars, he makes to be in the Firmament: Thus he places those Waters above all the Stars and the starry Heaven, nevertheless of these and all Things else he supposes the Earth to be the Centre; but since the Waters
are

are heavier than the celestial Matter, and than even the very Air it self, how is it possible for them to stay in the highest Regions, not being sustained by any intermediate Bodies of a grosser Kind? St *Austin* in this Matter forbids us having Recourse to the Divine Omnipotence, when in treating on the same Subject he thus very gravely and much to the purpose admonisheth us, Neither let any one say, that according to the Almighty Power of God to whom all Things are possible, we ought to believe that the Waters, thus heavy as we know and feel them to be, are diffused above the heavenly Region in which are the Stars; for now we ought to examin by his Scriptures, how God has instituted the Natures of Things, not how he is pleased to operate according to his miraculous Omnipotence; and this agrees with what he has more generally taught us elsewhere, God does after such manner administer all the Things he has created, that he suffers them to be exercised and governed by their own Motions. Let your Judgement then go according to these Rules. Besides, suppose these, I know not what kind of, Waters had been above the highest Heavens, what had it signified to the People to know this Mystery? It is remote from *Moses's* Custom, and what he proposed to himself to relate in his *Hexameron* invisible abstruse Things which were of no Use when known: He in that only traces the *Phænomena* of the visible World, which strike upon the Eyes of all People, and make them sensible that there must be a Creator; whereas those Things which are no way apparent, as they need no Author, so neither do they require any Explanation. And there.

therefore some have thought it proper to interpret these Waters above the Firmament, as it were watery Clouds, and to that End they establish two Firmaments, an upper and a lower. The former is that where the Stars reside, the latter that wherein the Vapours, Clouds, and Meteors roul about; that is to say, they call by the Name of Firmament, the Space that lies between the Earth, and the middle Region of the Air. But according to this Solution, pray what did God Almighty create the second Day? a little Extension or Space? The Distance which is between us and the Clouds? But that distance did before exist, being not only extended to the middle Region of the Air, but even to the very highest Heaven; whether you suppose the newly created Light, or the Chaos to have been interposed. What a Business is it then to create Distance? besides, to create Distance the second Day which did exist, the first? Neither is there according to this Proposition any solid Fence or Enclosure admitted in the fluid Heaven. But that we may further confute this Interpretation, let us hear *Moses's* own Words: *The second Day* (says he) *God said let there be a Firmament in the Midst of the Waters, and let it divide the Waters from the Waters*; that is, the Superiour from the Inferiour; these Waters therefore as well the one as the other did exist before this *Interaqueous* Firmament was made. For there can be no Bound or Separation but of Things that do already exist. Tell me then, what or where were these superiour Waters before this Separation was made? They seem to have before been one continued Mass, and after to have been by this Partition divided into two different Stories,

Stories. But before all this there were neither Rains nor Clouds; if therefore you will have these to be the superiour Waters, this does not answer *Moses's* Words. Finally, it would be preposterous to suppose Clouds before the Earth; or to imagin these Coagulations of Vapours, which perish and are renewed each Day, considerable enough to take up the sixth Part of the Almighty's vast Work. The Thing in short comes to this; the Vulgar do not comprehend the natural Generation of Rain by the condensation of Vapours, but fancies Rain is sent down from Heaven by a Divine Impulse, or comes immediately from God: *Moses* to favour this Opinion, goes and makes a common Receptacle for the Waters above the Heavens; so that God by opening or shutting his Floodgates, might at his Pleasure keep up or let down the Rain; this I take to have been the Mind and Intent of the sacred Author, as to his super-cœlestial Waters. And this is the best way to keep up the Dignity of *Moses*, if whenever he deviates from the Physical Truth, we suppose him to do it *κατὰ συνκρίσιν*, by adapting his History of the Creation to the Capacity and Use of the common People. Thus also when he treats of Light in the first Day of the Creation, that *Phænomenon* is equally incapable of being explained by any Physical Reason; but lest God should seem to work three Days in the dark, *Moses* thought it was convenient to produce Light at the Beginning of the Work. But what Sort of Light was it? A Light without any Source, without any Original from whence it might be derived. Yet Light, to argue Philosophically, always flows from some Centre wherein

wherein is the Heart and Principle of its Motion. Nevertheless in this Account of the Creation, Light is produced before any Distinction of the Heavens into Orbs or *Vortex*'s. Besides, according to the literal Meaning, God seems to have rested from his Work in the Night-time as Men used to do; but I do not see how another Hæmisphere either Celestial or Terrestrial could be perfected, if there was any intermission of the Work, and God acted only where there was Light. But the Vulgar never regard these little Niceties, nor do they dream of Antipodes or another Hemisphere; conceiving the World to be like a Tent, whose covering is Heaven, and Foundation the Surface of the Earth. Next comes the third Day's Task, wherein the Original of the Ocean is described, ἀτίχυνος καὶ ἀδεωπήτως, purely according to the Capacity of the Vulgar, in these Words, *Let the Waters be gathered together into one Place, and let the dry Land appear.* Now the dry Land he called Earth; and the Gathering together of the Waters he called Seas; this gathering together of the Waters to uncover the Face of the Earth, which lay hid under the Abyss, could not be effected any more than two Ways, (*viz.*) either by an Accumulation of the Waters in certain Places, so as that others might remain empty; or else by hollowing the Earth, which was under the Abyss, in certain Places, so as that the Waters might subside there. But that Accumulation could not make the Channel of the Ocean, wherefore all the Interpreters say, it was made by a hollowing of the Earth, and that the Waters being drawn down, and aggregated there, the Earth was deprived of them in other Places. They also tell you, that

that the Mountains were made by this Work, (*viz.*) with the Earth, which was dug out of this Channel of the Sea, and heaped up in divers Places. Now what can be plainer than this Original of the Ocean and Mountains, provided you do not too much play the Critick, and forbear too nice a Scrutiny: These Things therefore must have pleased and satisfied the People who do not trouble themselves about Niceties. But if any one has a Mind to make a more exact Enquiry into these Things, he may, if he pleases, consult what is written on this Subject in *Theor.* l. 1. c. 8, 9, and last; in which last Chapter, by various Reasons and manifest Tokens, it is demonstrated that neither the Channel of the Ocean, nor the first inhabitable dry Land, could proceed from this Original. But it would not be worth my While to repeat the same here, or to add any more upon this Subject.

So much for the first three Days of *Moses's* Creation, in which if our Author had passed by the first and second Day's Task, (*viz.*) that glimmering Light, and those Waters above the Firmament; and had put his ninth Verse immediately after his second, his World or inhabitable Orb had been never the more deficient: But because he had resolved (at least as I suppose) to hold and consecrate the seventh Day for a Sabbath, it was necessary for him to spin out his Creation to six Days: That with the remembrance of the World's being finished, and after the Example of God's Resting from all Manner of Work, the seventh Day might be for ever solemnly observed. But the Tasks of each of these Days are extremely unequal, the first Day's Work would have been finished in the Twinkling of an Eye; and

and so in my Opinion the second : Whereas the third Day's Task would have been a vast and tedious Piece of Business. First, to cut out so large a Channel as is that of the Sea ; then to draw off all the Waters that covered the Surface of the Earth, or rather to force them down into that Channel. I say force, since they would not fall down towards the Sea of their own accord, there being as yet no Channels to convey the Rivers, nor Descents of the Earth to carry them down. In those Places where the new Mountains or Heaps of Earth newly dug up, were fixed, the Waters would be thrown off, and the same Proportion of them fall down into the Pit of the Sea : But in all other Places, if no Violence were used to them, they would remain unmoveable upon the Face of the Earth. However, although you suppose them to have run down with the same Rapidity as Rivers do ; yet from some of the most Inland Places it would be several Days Journey to the Sea. The fourth Day's Task seems no less laborious, (*viz.*) the Sun, Moon, and Stars : Good God, how many and vast Bodies did that one Day produce and perfect ! Even in the making each of the Planets there ought to be six Days employed, as well as about this of ours, they being of the same Form (and as we have Reason to believe) their Ornaments and Equipage not very unlike : Besides, according to the Order of Things in the Creation, they being terrestrial Bodies, ought all to have been thrown into the third Day's Work ; especially the Moon, which could scarce be torn from its Centre the Earth, and transferred into another Class. But *Moses* follows the Philosophy

fophy of the Vulgar, and joins the Moon with the Sun, as though they were of like Nature and Magnitude. Lastly, the fifth and sixth Day's Task consisted of great Variety : In these two Days were built the Bodies of all the Birds, all the Fishes, and all the Beasts, both great and small that were produced out of the Earth and Waters. Now a-days the Bodies of Animals arrive more slowly at Perfection ; nor do I wonder at it, since they are so artificially composed. But seeing the Bodies of Animals even to the smallest are of so exquisite a Form and Composition, I shall never be induced to believe that the Earth, the common Mother of all Things, was from the Beginning of the World, as ruinous an ill shapen Mass as now it is. But this by the Bye.

St. *Austin* would have all those Things that are said to be the Work of six Days, to have been created in one Moment ; although *Moses* divided them into Classes and different Times that he might the better help the Imagination of the People, to comprehend the first Originals of Things. God Almighty did, in my Opinion, create out of nothing in one Moment, and by one individual Act, all Substance, whether intellectual or corporeal. Nor did St. *Austin* in that come wide of the Mark.

But here it is not (in the reality of the Thing) spoken of Substance in General, but only of the terrestrial World ; and not of its Creation, but its Formation. As for the Creation of all Things out of Nothing, or out of no pre-existent Matter, it is what cannot be doubted, as also that they were not from Eternity ; (for we cannot form to our selves any Idea of a Thing created from Eternity) but to prescribe the divine Creation

tion so short an *Epocha*, as the Limits of six thousand Years, it is what I never durst. I had rather leave that, together with several other Things, amongst the hidden Secrets of God.

Now these short Annotations upon the Account *Moses* gives us of the first Creation of Things, seem to imply that it was not this sacred Author's Design to represent the Beginning of the World, exactly according to the Physical Truth; (which would have been of no Use to the common People who were incapable of being made Philosophers) but to expound the first Originals of Things after such a Method as might breed in the Minds of Men Piety, and a Worshipping of the true God. And forasmuch as all the ancient Nations (*viz.*) The *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, &c. had each of them their several Accounts of the Creation of the World, placed as an Introduction before their Histories or Systems of Divinity; so *Moses* in like Manner being to write Laws and Institutions for the *Israelites*, thought it convenient also to prefix, as an introductory Preface, an Account not only of the Original of his own Nation, but even of the whole World. However, whereas the Heathens Accounts of the Creation were frequently stuffed with Fables, and I know not how many Gods and Goddesses, to the very great Corruption of Religion, he laying aside all those Fooleries has handled this Subject with a great deal of Purity and Innocence. When, that he might tear up the very Roots of Idolatry, he represented the Heavens, Sun, Moon, and Stars, which were the chief Deities of other Nations, not as Eternal or Created on their own Account, but as subservient to this sublunary World, as well as to the Use of Mankind.

This

This to me seems the Scope of our Holy Writer. But if we seek only after pure naked Truth, and a physical Theory, we must go quite upon another Foundation; that is, we must, (if I am not mistaken) suppose the World, which began near upon six Thousand Years ago, to have been no other than the sublunary Orb, or our Earth together with its Sky; and that Chaos from whence it arose, not to have been Universal or diffused over the vast Spaces of the Heavens, but contained within the aforesaid Bounds, which are whatever is below the Moon. Likewise the primitive Earth did not arise out of that Chaos in the same Form as *Moses* had represented it. For his Description of it was just according to what the People had before their Eyes, which was the *Postdiluvian* and modern One; nor could he without a great many far-fetched obscure Terms, and a long Chain of Arguments have ascended to its first Form, and have brought the Thread of both down to his own Times. In short, neither the Sun nor Stars were composed out of this terrestrial Chaos; but *Moses* having made Man to be the Head, and under God the supreme Lord of all Things, he represented the whole Universe as it were created and complied purely for his sake. This to me seems the Reason of both the physical and ethical Account of the Creation, for so I call the *Mosaical* Relation, since it seems not to have been instituted so much *quoniam* as *ut diximus*. In the mean time, if to other People's Opticks this appears in a different View, I do not desire to trouble or disturb any one in their Opinion. Let every one please and hug himself in his own. But we are all bound to make use of that Portion
of

of Reason God Almighty has distributed to each of us, till we have some more clear Light to illuminate us from Above.

C H A P. III.

An Answer to those Doubts and Objections, which may be brought against the preceeding Exposition, by THOSE who adhere to the literal Sense of the Account of the Creation in six Days.

HAVING explained these Things, I see a Mass of Objections which are raised against them; which to the utmost of my Power I shall endeavour to remove, and preserve our Cause untouched in the Opinion of equitable Judges; since they will readily give Sentence as the Love of Truth and Weight of Argument shall move them, wholly unmoved by Prejudice, or any stale Opinions. I shall now examine the Matter according to my Ability, and produce the Reasons on both Sides.

In the first Place, the Adversaries of this *Exposition* say, That *Creation* is a different Thing from the *Formation* of Things already *Created*: And that *MOSES* speaks concerning the *Creation* of Things out of Nothing, the Date of which was but a few thousand Years backward; but that we interpret the whole concerning the *Formation* of Things, or *Disposition* of confused Matter into a habitable World. We take the State of the Question; but their Assertion
can

can never be made good from the Words of *Moses*, or any other Writer. The Word ברא in the *Hebrew*, κτίσις in the *Greek*, and *creare* in the *Latin* have not that Signification. Nor is the Production of Things out of Nothing comprehended (as I know of) in one Word in any Language whatsoever. The Use and Signification of the above-mentioned Words in those three Languages are well known; and particularly it is universally confessed, that the *Hebrew* Word ברא is applied in the sacred Writings to other Actions and Effects, besides the first Production of Things. Nothing therefore can be proved from that Word, nor can this Objection be upheld elsewhere, or supported by Scripture or Reason. The Apostle indeed says, * *By Faith we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that the Things which are seen were made of Things which do not appear.* The Word *Katēritai* does not denote the Production of a Thing out of Nothing, and therefore the Apostle does not say of those Things which are not, but of those Things which do not appear; or which are now vanished, being changed into another Form, or which were formerly shaded and invisible: For he understands here (as we have before observed) that Dark and indigested Mass, which *Moses* calls by the Name of תהו בור.

This Heap, this Chaos was disposed by God into the Form and Order of an habitable World, and in all its Parts proportioned like the Members of a Body drawn from the seminal Mass.

Farther, there is nothing in Reason, or the Phenomenons of the exterior World, nothing in the Nature of Things, to convince us that Matter is New; but many evidences appear to prove the Novelty of Form. Nay, we have in the preceeding Chapter taken Notice of some Things concerning the Heavens, which do not obscurely intimate that they are above six thousand Years Old. But all Matter, as we said before, is of the same Age, and if I mistake not, all created Substance. We have also before undertaken to prove, that the Angels had an Existence before the Mosaical World; and it is without Doubt, that Antiquity (both in the Eastern and Western Parts of the World) taught that humane Souls existed before their earthly Bodies. You see, how many Arguments may be brought in the behalf of the Antiquity of Things; but it can be proved from no Chapter, that the Mosaical Chaos at that Time was produced from Nothing.

It is objected in the second Place, if the Matter of the Chaos existed before the Beginning of the Mosaical World, What was it, to what End did it exist, or where was it before that Time? I Answer, we are not to be solicitous about these Matters, since they are (as to the greater Part) beyond our Knowledge. But we see new Stars sometimes arise in the Heavens, which never appeared there before; which yet, with good Reason, we believe to have pre-existed under some Form, and in some certain Place. Moreover, we often take Notice of Comets in the Sky, whose Origine and first Seats are unknown to us. Nor must we imagine that the Heavens are incorruptible; for celestial Bodies,

dies, as well as terrestrial, have their Vicissitudes and Transmutations* ; and the very fixed Stars, by the means of a Chaos, may be turned into Planets; and again, the Planets in their turn may revive, and shine as fixed Stars, having shaken off their Dregs. Such is the Instability and Changeableness of all created Things. Thus much concerning the Matter of the World.

In the third Place you object, that according to our Hypothesis, *Moses* must have departed from the Truth, and the Nature of Things, in his Account of the Form, Order, and Kinds, of created Beings: By which Method (as it is feigned) he consulted the Benefit of the People, and accommodated his Description to vulgar Capacities. But Truth, say they, is a sacred and inviolable Thing which ought not to be hurt by any Pretence, nor should its Dignity be infringed; we should not wholly leave it upon any Account whatsoever, much less does it become so Holy a Man in treating of sacred Things.

And this I must own is the main Objection which contains the Strength of all the Rest; and therefore if we can overcome this, we need not be afraid of the Rest. We grant in the first Place, that *Moses* has departed from the Physical Truth in his Account of the Creation; we acknowledge, moreover, that Truth is a sacred Thing; but there are various Degrees and Orders of sacred Things, among which some are more or less inviolable. The Subject here is

* See, The Theory of the Earth, Book iv. Chap. 10.

Physical Truth, not that which is Moral. Now there is nothing more frequent in the sacred Writings, than, neglecting Physical Truth, to exhibit the Nature of Things according to the Opinion, Affection, and Judgement of the Populace. Thus the holy Scripture represents the Earth as smooth and quadrangular ; and the Heaven as solid and stretched out like a Tabernacle : It speaks of the Moon as one of the greatest among the Stars, and mentions the Sun's daily Course from the East to the West ; and that the Ocean is higher than the Shoars. Thus for the corporeal World. Farther, it represents the Angels as having Tongues and Wings ; it speaks of bloody Souls, and as if they slept after Death. Lastly, it mentions the Ears, Eyes, Hands, and Fingers of God himself, the most exalted and perfect Being. And besides all the Members of the Body, it relates the local Motions, Affections, and Passions of the infinite Deity. Will you say these are true, or adapted to vulgar Capacities ? Now if holy Scripture does not scruple to leave the Truth in so many and important Things, what should hinder *Moses* from using the same Liberty in his Description of the Creation ? Since Matters stood so, that the People could neither understand nor bear a plain and Philosophical Explanation of it.

Nor was this Method only used by the Penmen of the sacred Scriptures, but it was Customary for the Heathen Philosophers also to instruct their young Scholars in a gross and popular Manner ; nor did they admit them to the interior Sense of Things, till they had gone through a due Course of Subjection and Discipline.

cipline. We have often taken Notice of this double Method of Teaching in the preceeding Books, agreeable to that Saying of *Parmenides* *, *There is a two-fold Manner of Philosophizing ; One according to Truth, and the Other agreeable to the common Opinion.* But the Ancients had various Ways of concealing the Truth ; sometimes by a figurative or symbolical Speech, and sometimes by a low and popular Representation ; at other Times by explaining Things not according to the Laws of Nature, but by having Recourse to a divine Power, or Providence. We have Examples of all these Methods in the sacred Writings, and therefore need not wonder that *Moses* should follow such Examples in his Description of the natural World, and History of the Formation of it.

We observed but just now, that among sacred Things, there are various Degrees, and some are more sacred than others ; and we either conceal or dissemble the Truth according as the Reason and Circumstances of Things shall direct us. What just or pious Man ever scrupled to deceive Children or Lunaticks, when thereby they contributed to their Safety and Welfare ? And why should not the rude and untractable Multitude be dealt with after the same Manner ? Especially when the Subject requires it, and there is a greater Opportunity of doing Good thereby. It is a Crime to use Dissimulation to the Prejudice of another : But we innocently deceive, and are deceived for the publick Good, and the supporting of the

* Apud. Laert.

Weak. There is something more sacred and inviolable in the Nature of Goodness, than in that of Truth, and when it is impossible to join them together, the Latter must give Place to the Former.

Now to apply this to our Purpose, and the Case of *Moses* the Author we are discoursing of; we will readily grant, that Truth is not to be departed from rashly, or for an inconsiderable Cause. But Truth that can produce no Fruit is unprofitable, and that which cannot be told without great Damage is noxious. Now Affairs stood so between *Moses* and his People, that he could not explain to them, the exquisite Originals of Things, so as to yield them any Benefit; nay, he could not do it without being injurious to them. For suppose, that *Moses* in the Beginning of his History of the Creation, had proposed the true System of the World, and had thus addressed the *Israelites*; I would have you to understand Fathers and Brethren, that this Earth which we tread upon, and which seems to us unmoved, and to be the stable Foundation of all Things, whirls about perpetually, and is moved most swiftly, and every Day turns round its own entire Orb; and is yearly carried through the lofty Skies, and takes an almost immense Compass about the Sun. In the mean time, the Sun which seems to us to run his Race with the utmost Vigour, and to finish his Course through the Heavens in twelve Hours, deceives us, and sports with our Eyes. For he remains idle in his Seat both Day and Night, and leaves that Province to the Earth, of Constituting and Measuring the Day and Night, together with the various Seasons of the Year.

Year. Had *Moses* entered upon his Discourse after this Manner, would not the People have looked upon him as a Man relating the most absurd and ridiculous Things, and have treated him with Laughter or Disdain? And so have rejected (to their unconceivable Damage) this sacred Prophet as a Trifler? And yet these Doctrines are true, though unprofitable and improper for the Vulgar; and those which *Moses* has substituted in their Room, were of the greatest Benefit to his People, and well adapted to their Apprehensions and Capacities. Therefore, in changing them, when the Matter required it, I think *Moses* acted the Part of a sincere Person, and one who had a generous Love for Mankind.

Let me produce another Example to strengthen our Argument, and to vindicate *Moses*. Suppose, our Theory of the Earth to be True. I say, let us suppose that the Primigenial Earth was different from the present One, and formed after the Manner described in the above-mentioned Theory; was it worth the while for *Moses*, or suitable to the Dignity of a Prophet or Legislator, to unfold these minute Points of Physiology to the People? His Straits of Philosophy had then been sung to deaf Persons. Nor could these Makers of Bricks, whose Breath then smelt strong of the Leeks and Onions of *Egypt*, and could not discern a Molten Calf from the supreme God, ever be able curiously to examine these first Works of the Creator, the Principles of Things, and the Laws and Motions of Nature, and compare them with the Rule of Truth.

Therefore, *Moses* would have laboured in vain to have taught them Philosophy. Nor had his Attempts been only vain, but he would have lost his Reputation among that People, and lessened in like Manner the Force and Authority of that new Religion which he was about to introduce. It was therefore upon all Accounts necessary for him to use such a Style in this Argument, as might be favourable and beneficial to an ignorant People.

The fourth Objection runs after this Manner; If *Moses* was to instruct a People, who were incapable of receiving a History of the Creation agreeable to Physical Truth, he had acted much more wisely and honestly, if he had entirely passed by that Subject, since it had been much better for him to have been silent to, than to have treated of it with Dissimulation, and substituted a false Account instead of a true One.

I answer, that it was neither proper nor safe for *Moses* wholly to pass by an Account of the Origine of the World. For the neighbouring Nations had their respective Philosophical Histories of the Creation of the World, in most Points very false, and contrary to true Religion. Now the *Israelites* would have followed such Traditions, and fabulous Accounts as these, had they not been instructed otherwise. If you do not marry your Daughter, she will seek a Husband for her self, and perhaps chuse a Servant, or one of the meanest among Men; and unless you give a People some Articles of Faith, some Doctrines and Opinions which they are to retain, They themselves will feign some according to their Capacities, Passions, or Vices.

Moreover,

Moreover, what is here objected against *Moses*, may also be brought against our Saviour and his Apostles. The future State, whether of Happiness or Misery, cannot rightly be conceived by the common People; nor can they form any true Idea's either of that or of the last Judgement; must Christ therefore and his Apostles pass them by in Silence? No surely, we find they are frequently described in the Evangelical and Apostolical Writings; not accurately indeed, but by those popular Images which were proper to fix on the Memory, and move the Passions. Thus Heaven is shadowed under the Delights of Paradise, and a Crown of Glory; and Hell is represented under the Notion of unquenchable Fire, and Cold, and outer Darkness, and Worms that are continually gnawing the Flesh. Thus the Day of Judgement is described by the Circumstance of the Angels sounding a Trumpet, and the Opening of the Graves, by the Erection of a Tribunal, and Examining the Books. In this Manner, the Holy Spirit thought fit to treat of sacred Things, in a humane Manner, even in the full Light of the Gospel: And did not think it proper to be silent as to those Heads which we could not understand, by an exact and accurate Description, but judged it convenient to Change them into new Forms: I say into other Forms, which were more lively and conspicuous to all, and might draw Men to Piety, and deter them from Wickedness.

These Observations as to the Proceedings of the Evangelical Writers, may easily be applied to the Vindication of *Moses*, who with the same Design did not pass by the Doctrine concerning the

the Original of the World, though in its Purity it cannot be explained to the Vulgar; but he digested and unfolded it in such a Method as might be most serviceable to Religion, and least burdensome to the Understanding of the People.

It is objected in the last Place, that if we may depart from the Letter of the Mosaical History, in the three first Chapters of *Genesis*, Why not in others also? And where must we stop? What Rule shall we have to set Bounds to us, lest the Wantonness of our Imagination should every where destroy the Historical and literal Sense of Scripture. I answer, that common and notable Rule of Interpreters, that we must no where depart from the Letter without Necessity. With this Guide we shall be Safe; and wherever I have violated this Rule, I am content that all my Assertions should be looked upon as retracted.

Farther, we may observe, that when the Scripture treats concerning the natural World, it is with a greater Distance from the literal Sense, than in any other Places: And it evidently appears by a thousand Examples, that the sacred Author's handle this Subject after the Manner of Men, and suitable to the Capacities of the Vulgar.

The Light of Nature is the Gift of God, and is not to be hid under a Bushel, or in a Napkin; on the contrary, we ought to make use of it in our Searching after Truth, and where we are enquiring into the Meaning of the sacred Oracles; and I think it was not improperly said, that Philosophy is the Interpreter of Scripture in natural Things: But, I do not
here

here mean a dry and jejune Philosophy, the Figment of an idle Brain, but that which is agreeable to the Appearances of Nature, repeated Experiments, and solid Reason. However, we ought in all our Enquiries, whether Theological or Philosophical, to maintain a cool and unprejudiced Mind, together with a profound and pious Reverence for the Deity.

These seem to me to be the principal Objections which might hinder the Reader from embracing our Opinion, or perhaps, violently drive him from it. I mean that Opinion which concludes that *Moses*, passing by for the most Part Physical Truth, has followed Moral, or rather Theological Reasons in his Narration of the World's Original. That God was the sole Author of the World, and that the Beginning, Motions, and Ends of all Things were appointed and ruled by his Providence; this *Moses* in the first Place established.

And then as for the Manner or Order of its Origination, though he steps aside from the Path of Learning, yet he never falls into trifling Fables, or gross Superstitions, as the Heathen Philosophers have done in their Histories of the Creation. For if you consult them all, you will easily perceive, that the Mosaical Description is much more pure and accurate than theirs. The *Grecian* Account we may find in *Hesiod* and other Writers, and the *Phœnician* in *Philo-Biblius*. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us the *Egyptian* Cosmogony, and other Authors have furnished us with various Accounts of the Creation. We shall farther add to these, the *Arabick* and *Mahometan* Systems of the Creation, that the Reader may perceive and distinguish the Nature of them

them all. The *Arabians* tell us, that the great and good God being about to create all Things, first formed a large Table and Pen that he might write upon it all future Events to the End of the World. When this was done he created a white Pearl, and having viewed it with the Eye of his Majesty, it dissolved into Waters, whence arose the Abyss. Then followed the Production of the Air; then that of Animals and Angels. When God designed to make the other Creatures, he produced a white Jewel, which was immediately melted by the divine Aspect, and began violently to bubble and cast its Froth upwards. Which being done, God formed seven Earths from the Froth of it, together with Rivers and Mountains. And from the Smoke he raised as many Heavens. And thus Heaven and Earth were finished according to the Tradition of the *Arabians*.

The *Mahometan* Creation is yet more absurd; as we find it in a Treatise concerning the Knowledge of subtil Truths, and it runs thus: "God first of all created the Light for *Mahomet* having the Nature and Shape of a Peacock: This he put in a lovely Pearl, and hung it on a most beautiful Tree where for about a thousand Years it celebrated the Praises of its Creator. When this Light was viewed by *Mahomet*, he fell into a prodigious Sweat, and God made the Angels out of the Sweat of his Head, and from the Sweat of his Face a Throne, Table, Quill, Sun, Moon, Heaven, Stars, and whatsoever is in the Heavens. Lastly, To pass by other Absurdities, he formed the whole Earth out of the Sweat of his Feet, and whatsoever is thereon." Such were

were the fond and sordid Notions which filled those Histories of the Creation which passed among the Foreign Nations. *Moses* has nothing that resembles such Trifles as these: If he departed from Nature and the Physical Truth, he did it with a pure and honest Design as a Lover of Piety, and studious for the publick Good. We have already mentioned the Saying of *Solon*, who being asked, Whether he had given the best Laws to the *Athenians*? answered, He had indeed given them the best they were capable of receiving, which is no less true concerning the Doctrine and Institutions of the Jewish Legislator. And if any should enquire, Whether *Moses* gave the *Israelites* the best Account of the Creation, we might very justly answer, it was the best they could possibly bear. Oft-times it happens in humane Affairs, that what is simply best cannot be attained to: But, a sincere and prudent Man will aim at what is the best among those Things which are practicable. Nor do I find any Thing in the Writings or Actions of *Moses* that is contrary to this Rule. And therefore, in my Opinion, he ought always to be esteemed the greatest among the ancient Prophets and Sages.

We are not ignorant that Foreign Authors have but a mean Opinion of the Mosaick Creation, and some directly banter it. * *Celsus* calls it an old Wive's Fable; and *Simplicius* somewhat more modestly a fabulous Tradition taken from the *Egyptians*. This he retorts on *Philoponus*, for *Proclus* had written for the Eternity of

* Orig. Cont. Cels. Lib. 4. pag. 186.

the World, and *Philoponus* answered him. Afterwards *Simplicius* the Vindicator of *Proclus* replies to *Philoponus*, who was rehearsing an Account of the Mosaick Creation, in these Words: If *Philoponus* introduces the Jewish Legislator, speaking thus, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth: And the Earth was without Form, and Void, and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters.* Then the Light being made by God, and the Darkness distinct from the Light, it is added, *God called the Light Day, and the Darkness he called Night.* If he thinks, (says *Simplicius*) that this is the Origine of the World, and that Temporal, I would have him know, that this is nothing but a fabulous Tradition, extracted from the Tales of the *Egyptians*.

Indeed, *Moses* has somewhat common, not only with the *Egyptians*, but also with other Nations as to the Matter or *Substratum* of his World, and that is the Chaos; that ancient Chaos which all Nations celebrated: But they differ in the Formation of it. Nor can I remember to have met with any Account of the Creation, either among the ancient Philosophers, or Divines, which rightly describes the Structure of the Premigenial Earth, or first habitable World; or gives a satisfactory Account, why the Earth, the most heavy Element, should be higher than the Water, which is much lighter. Upon which Account *Strabo*, as in a Case otherwise desperate, has recourse to Providence: And by the Help of that sets the Earth free from the Waters, which he could not do by the Power of Nature. The Place deserves our Observation, we shall briefly go over it.

He

He exhibits a double Manner of Working in the Formation of this Earth *, the one according to Nature, the other according to Providence; and he flies to a particular Providence to solve that Difficulty, why the Waters which in their own Nature are lighter than the Earth, should notwithstanding subside beneath its Surface. In which Opinion he indeed follows *Moses* (whom he had before highly extolled in his Description of *Judea* †) but he had none of the wise Men among Foreign Nations to go before him in this Matter. He thus describes the Case: He says, That by Nature the Water was higher in Situation than the Earth, and in the Beginning of Things compassed it about like a Sphere. But since Providence designed to create Animals, and chiefly Man, a Creature not belonging to the Water, therefore God raised the Earth, and caused it to swell in diverse Places; and in others he sunk it, and made it hollow, that the Waters might lie hid, and there dry Land might appear, and afford a Seat for Men and other Creatures. ||

This he calls the Work of Providence, not of Nature, he means here an extraordinary Providence: For the ordinary one is the same with the Law and Order of Nature. You see this Author goes the very same Way in which *Moses* went before him. This Explication has nothing amiss in it; only it is not agreeable to the Rule of Philosophers, that we must not depart from Nature without a Necessity. Now there

* Geogr. Lib. 17. p. 809, &c. † Lib. 16. p. 760, &c.
 || Vid. Strab. Lib. 17. M. P. 809, 810.

is no Necessity either of elevating the Earth, or drawing the Waters into Ditches and Trenches, in Order to form the first habitable World, as we have shewed elsewhere *. But, it was necessary for *Moses*, upon the Account of other Reasons, which we have before taken Notice of, to dispose of the Parts and Furniture of his World agreeable to the immediate Command of the supreme Being, and the Direction of Providence.

I have briefly taken Notice of these Passages of *Strabo*, to shew, that the Mosaical Account of the Creation is no *Egyptian* Fable, as *Simplicius* would have it; but a very beautiful System proper for his Occasion. This was afterwards imitated by others, either more sparingly or fully; and I believe what *Suidas* tells us concerning the *Hetrurian* Account of the Creation, was transcribed from the Mosaical One, with some few Alterations. The Philosophy of the *Hetrurians* was indeed very ancient, and, if I mistake not, of greater Antiquity than the *Græcians*: But the Opinions of the Ancients are often mingled with later Notions, and Interpolations; which has been the Case in the Miscellaneous Collections of *Suidas*.

Farther, *R. Moses Maimonides* frequently boasts of his *Zabians* or *Zabiistsans*, whom he makes to be more ancient, not only than *Moses*, but *Abraham*; and he says, That in their Books there are many Things to be found, concerning *Adam*, the Serpent, about the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and concerning

* Theor. Lib. 1. c. 5.

the first Garments; which yet he rather thinks were stollen from the *Jews*, than given to them: But, however, are to be looked upon as fabulous, if we take them literally.

The exprefs Words of *Maimonides* are these *,
 “ As for what they tell (to wit, the Books
 “ of the *Zabiiſtans*) concerning the first Man
 “ *Adam*, about the Serpent and the Tree of
 “ Knowledge of Good and Evil, concerning
 “ Garments, which were not in Uſe before, take
 “ heed leſt it deprave thy Judgement, and thou
 “ imagine that theſe Things really happened to
 “ *Adam*, or ſome other Man. For in Truth,
 “ there never were ſuch Things really in Na-
 “ ture: For if you only ſuperficially conſider
 “ the Matter, you will find that all theſe Things
 “ are falſe, which are related in this Fable,
 “ and were feigned by them after our Law be-
 “ gan to be known among the Nations, and
 “ they had heard of the Hiſtory of the Work
 “ *BERESCHITH*, that is, of Creation; for then
 “ they immediately took all in a literal Senſe,
 “ and invented thoſe Fables.”

He ſeems here to look upon the Narrations concerning *Adam*, and the Serpent, about the Tree of Knowledge, and the Coats of Skins to be but Fables, if we only attend to the literal Senſe: As when God is ſaid to have deſcended into the Garden to walk there in the Cool of the Day, as if God (like feeble Men) grew faint with too much Heat, and therefore made a Practice of walking beneath the cooling Shade of the ſpreading Trees, to enjoy the Benefit of

the pleasant Air. Now *Maimonides* would not have these crude Descriptions to be understood in a strict Sense; neither the Waters above the Heavens*, and other Things mentioned in the first Chapter, which he calls absurd, if interpreted according to the Letter. In which Particulars I do not differ from this learned Man. But as to his *Zabians*, and their Antiquity, I have nothing to say, since there remains so very little in other Authors concerning that Nation.

Lastly, It is disputed, whether *Moses* received this Account of the Creation by Tradition, or was himself the first Institutor of it. I do not see how this can certainly be determined; but it appears to me much more reasonable to suppose, that *Moses's* History of the Creation, or elementary Institution in natural Things, as well as his Law or elementary Institution in the moral World, was first given to him, or found out by him; nor were they taken from any Nation where they had before received, or borrowed from any Philosopher or Legislator; but enough has been said with reference to Objections.

* If we take that Water above the Heavens in a literal Sense, we shall think of what has really no Existence; for there is no Body between us and the inferiour Heavens, the Elements only excepted; nor are there Waters above the Air, much less can it be imagined, that the Expanse, and that which is above it, should be above the Heavens. This Account is too perplexed and absurd to be apprehended. Pars. 22. p. 2. c. 30. m. p. 278.

C H A P. IV.

What remains yet to be considered, as well the Reasons of Things, as the Testimonies of Authors; that we may be able to form a right Judgement in this Case.

LEST any should make an ill Use of what we have freely discoursed (moved solely by the Love of Truth) concerning the *Mosaical Account* of the *Origin of Things*, or abuse it by raising invidious Reflections on the Author; I desire that all impartial Judges would seriously consider (with me) and weigh the few following Heads, which are otherwise very well known. *First*, The Style and Manner of Writing used by the Oriental Philosophers. *Secondly*, The dull and heavy Capacity of the Children of *Israel* at the Time when these Things were written. *Thirdly*, What learned Men wrote before concerning these Matters. *Fourthly*, What is worthy or unworthy of God; and how we ought to form our Notions concerning the Supreme Being.

As to the *First*, It is well known, that the ancient wise Men and Philosophers, very seldom set forth the naked and open Truth; but exhibited it veiled or painted after various Manners; by Symbols, Hieroglyphicks, Allegories, Types, Fables, Parables, popular Discourses, and

other Images. This I pass by in general as sufficiently known. But, it may not be amiss to consider a little that two-fold Doctrine, which the ancient wise Men made use of in instructing their Disciples, one Popular, the other Secret, though we have often mentioned it in the preceeding Chapters. According to this Method they used to distribute their Scholars into two or more Classes, according as they were ignorant, or more instructed: Hence also their Writings were distinguished, some being designed for Strangers, and others for their Scholars. The latter were accurate according to the Rule of Truth, but the former were adapted to the Capacities of the common People. *Cicero* has observed this in his *Morals* *; As for the chief Good, because there are two Sorts of Books, the one written after a popular Manner, which they call exoterick, or belonging to Strangers; the other more correct, which they have left in their Commentaries: They do not always seem to teach the same Things. So the Author of the Book concerning the World † observes, that it was necessary for him, upon the Account of his Argument, to treat concerning the first Cause, if less accurately, yet according to the vulgar Institution, or the grosser Form of Doctrine. With good Reason therefore did *Varro* || divide the ancient Theology into three Parts, the Fabulous, Civil, and Philosophical. This last was useless to the common People: And the Fabulous, hurtful; therefore they instituted a mid-

* *Lib. 5. de Fin. bon. Sect. 5* † *Cap. 6. Principio.*
 || *August. de C. D. L. iv. c. 31.*

dle Sort (as *Aristotle* observes) * for the Benefit of the common People, and Advantage of humane Life. And *Plato* justly observes †, that it is very difficult to find out the Father and Creator of the Universe, but impossible to make the common People sensible of his Nature; which holds true also with Reference to his Works.

But to return to the different Ranks of Scholars; which Custom was well known in the School of *Pythagoras*: He imposed two Years Silence on some of his young Disciples §. and on others five Years, whom he called by the Name of Auditors. There were besides two Sorts of Philosophy; of which the one was prepared for Men of bright Parts, called *Disciplinarians*; and the other for Novices, or those of lower Capacities. So I can easily believe, that there was a two-fold System of the World proposed in the School of *Pythagoras*, the one Vulgar, and the other Mathematical; the latter passed among those who were initiated in their Mysteries, and the former among those of duller Apprehensions.

For it appears that *Pythagoras* placed the Sun in the Middle of our World; and yet we meet with several Things in *Jamblicus* and *Laertius* in the Life of *Pythagoras*, which plainly favour of the vulgar Hypothesis; and that which was done in delivering the Form of the World, might also be repeated in the Account of its Original, and a double Hypothesis constituted concerning it, Philosophical and Vulgar; one to be expo-

* *Metaphys.* L. xiv. c. 8. *Fine.* † In *Tim.*

§ *Vid. Jam. de Vit. Pyth.* 117, & 118.

fed to the People, and the other reserved for wise Men.

The Jewish Doctors affirm, that the Law speaks with the Tongue of the Sons of Men, in a plain Style, and with vulgar Notions: But, that *Moses* had his Cabala or secret Doctrine, which he privately imparted to wise and upright Men: I do not certainly know, whether there were formerly *Hebrew Cabala's* of this Kind or no, the Treasure of true and genuine Science. But, it is past Doubt, that it was a Custom among the ancient wise Men, to teach one Thing in Private, and another in Publick. And this was done, that they might not, according to the proverbial Saying, *Cast their Pearls before Swine.*

Nor was this Practice unknown in the Schools of Christians; for we find, that in the primitive Church, there was a Distinction made between the *Catechumens*, and the illuminated; and the former were not admitted to partake of the same sacred Mysteries, as the latter were. In like Manner, with Reference to Doctrine, the Apostles * fed Infants with Milk, and those of riper Age, with more solid Food. *Lastly*, Christ himself † concealed many Things from his Disciples, because of their Weakness. *I have yet (says he) many Things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* It is the Part of a good Master, or Interpreter of Mysteries, not suddenly and promiscuously to heap up all Sorts of Doctrine, but gradually to pour Instruction into their Minds, according as Opportunity and the Capacities of their Scholars

* 1 Cor. iii. 2.

† John xvi. 12.

will permit. Now these Instances may easily be applied to our Purpose, and the Vindication of *Moses*; of whom we shall say more afterwards. But we now pass on to the second Head.

In the *second* Place, we ought to consider, the dull and heavy Disposition of the Children of *Israel* at the Time when *Moses* wrote his Laws, and Account of the Original of Things. We may well suppose from the Jewish Laws and Mosaical Oeconomy, that the People were of a gross and sluggish Nature, nor were they qualified for the Contemplation of natural Things, or the Perception of Divine Ones. Such a wise Legislator would never have burthened philosophical Men, or those who had a Relish of celestial Things with so many external Rites, so many unprofitable Ceremonies, or such minute Observances. He has interwoven nothing, in his Institution and Religion, intellectual or abstracted from the Senses, nothing about the Immortality of the Soul: And therefore in those Rewards and Punishments which he has proposed to strengthen his Laws, he goes no farther than the Bounds of this Life, promising nothing but the temporal good Things of it, nor threatening any Evils, but those of the like Nature. And this Method of Proceeding was occasioned, not by his own Ignorance, but the Incapacity of the People, and the Grossness of their Minds. Nor do I mention this with any Design to reproach that Nation; far be that from me; but I take it from the Mouth of the Jews themselves. Thus *Manasses Ben Israel**, If there had been frequent Mention made of a future State in

* De Resur. c. xiii.

that Law (he is speaking concerning the Mosai-
cal One) it would have seemed ridiculous to that
People. Of the same Opinion was *R. Moses
Maimonides*, who handles this Argument more
largely *, and very well deserves our Reading.
If therefore this People (to make Use of an Apo-
stolical Phrase) were to be trained up under a
School-master, and by weak and beggarly Ele-
ments; certainly there was a Necessity at that
Time to abstain from philosophical Theories. If
Moses (for fear of Disdain and Contempt) durst
not open the Springs of a future Life and Immor-
tality which it so much concerns all Men to
know; how much less had it become a wise Man
to expose himself and his Laws to the same In-
conveniences and Dangers upon the Account of
some philosophical Doctrines which were not ne-
cessary, and would have been odious to the Peo-
ple.

Some may perhaps imagine, that the World
was perfected at once, and born as it were an
old Man, as having no Affinity with those Things
which are produced by the Newness or Infancy
of Nature. But as there are different Ages of
Men, so there are of Nations, as the *Roman
Historian* observes †. And the Condition of
this People, was rude and unpolished beyond the
rest, having endured above four hundred Years
Servitude, which not only depraved their Man-
ners and Discipline, but almost bereaved them
of their Humanity. If I may speak the Truth
without raising Envy, they were a vile Compa-
ny of Men, an Assembly of Slaves brought out

* Mor. Nev. Pars i. Cap. 33. & 34.

† Flor.

of *Egyptian* Prisons, who understood no Art beside that of making Bricks, and were endowed with no Ornaments; nor was it only thus, but they wanted to be untaught many Things which they had imbibed in an Idolatrous Nation. I dare therefore appeal to any judicious Reader, whether the Mysteries of Nature ought suddenly to have been unfolded to this Croud, and those Theorems concerning the Principles of Things exposed to them, which are yet disputed of among the Learned.

Thirdly, It is to be observed, that they who have handled this Argument, either among the Jewish or Christian Doctors, have made no Scruple of departing from the Letter in explaining the Mosaical Originals of Things. As for the Jews, I pass by the Cabalistical Authors, who either make nothing of the Scriptures, or else too much; I say too much, when they so curiously carve out mystical Meanings from their Letters, Syllables, and Numbers; nor shall I here take any Notice of *Philo* the Jew, since he is over-run with Allegories. But *R. Moses Aegyptius* * has nothing laid to his Charge to hinder him from being a proper Evidence. Now this Man oftentimes in his Exercitations on the Sacred Scriptures admonishes us, that we should not always stick to the literal Sense, and makes his Assertion good; and particularly in the Work *Bereschith*, or the History of the Creation †.

Near the End of his 29th Chapter he gives us two Propositions, of which this is the first, That

* More Nev. † Besides the Preface of this Author consult if you please, the 17th, 33d, & 34th. Chapters of the first Part, and the 30th Chapter of the second Part.

all Things are not to be understood literally; which are related in the Work of Creation (*Bereschith*) as the common People are apt to imagine; and then he farther confirms and explains this Rule; For otherwise, says he, wise Men would not have commanded those Things to be concealed, nor used so great Care in hiding them, and shading them in Parables; nor would they have given such an expresse Charge, that there should be no Discourses concerning them before the unskilful Populace. For the literal Interpretations of them, either raise evil Imaginations and Opinions about the Nature of the great and good God; or certainly over-turn the Foundations of the Law, and introduce certain Heresies. Therefore they are not to be considered by Imagination only, without the Knowledge of other Arts and Literature; neither is the Matter to be ordered as Preachers and Commentators imagine, who think that the Knowledge of the Explication of the Words is great Science, and the highest Perfection, if they are unfolded copiously, and in a long Discourse: But they are rather to be considered and understood according to the Truth of the Understanding, having gained a more perfect Knowledge in the demonstrative Sciences and prophetick Mysteries.

He discourses after the like manner in the Beginning of the 33d Chapter, where he has these Words: And this is the Reason why the Law speaks with the Tongue of the Children of Men, as we have shown before: For this is a convenient and easy Method whereby Boys, Women, and the common People may learn, who are not able to apprehend Things in their native and real Truth; Therefore, by this means, whatsoever is necessary
for

for their Belief is delivered to them, and what relates to every Conception which may direct the Understanding to know what God is, and that he really exists, though not the true Nature of his Essence. And if any one be of a more perfect and sublimer Genius to understand the Mysteries of the Law, whether he learned them of others, or from himself, he being moved from one Discovery to another, arrives to such a Degree, that he believes those Opinions to be real and true, by Means of a true Faith, either by a Demonstration in those Things which may be demonstrated, or by other firm and solid Arguments in those Matters which will bear them; and so will formally know and understand the Truth and Substance of those Things, which were delivered to him in Similitudes and Parables. You see here, that this Jewish Doctor admonishes us, that we ought not always to stick on the Outside of the Mosaick Writings (for under the Name of the Law the Jews comprehend all the Books of *Moses*) which are adapted to the Use of the People, and promiscuous Multitude. But what will the Nature of Things bear, or severe Demonstration? Or *Lastly*, Must we not attend to the main and great Design of the Author?

I take the Words of *Flavius Josephus* in the same Sense, in his Introduction to the Jewish Archæology, where he thus speaks: What *Moses* has wrote in the Introduction to his Law concerning God and the Creation of the World, were composed with this View, that he might instil Piety into the Minds of his People; in order hereunto, he cast some Things under a Veil, others he elegantly explained according to the Nature of the Argument: His Words are these,—The Legislator

tor represented some Points mystically according as the Dignity of those Subjects required ; and some Things he drest in Allegories, but with Integrity and Modesty. And *Lastly*, He told them what might conveniently be explained according to the Letter in a plain and direct Manner. If any one should be willing to make a particular Enquiry into the Causes of these Proceedings, it would lead him into a very wide Field of Speculation.

Farthermore, *Aristobulus*, an *Hebrew* Philosopher, in his Commentaries on the Writings of *Moses* inscribed to King *Ptolomy* (upon Occasion of some Expressions in the Scriptures which were adapted to human Passions) makes the following Observation :—For *Moses* our Legislator was wont to express his Mind in various Ways, while he borrows the Names of other Things so far as they strike upon the Senses, and commemorates the Revolutions of the most important Affairs, in a very natural and pathetick Manner. And indeed, those Men who are of bright Parts cannot but admire the singular Wisdom of this Prophet, and reverence that Divine Spirit, by whose Inspiration he obtained this Renown : But they who are of dull Capacities, while they adhere to the outside of Scripture only, can see nothing sublime or excellent in his Narration.

Eusebius * gives us his Opinion much resembling this in the following Words :—Since we have now expressed the Precepts of the Sacred Law, and given the Meaning of them which was shaded in Allegories ; it may be worth while to

* Præp. Ev. Lib. viii. c. 10.

observe,

observe, that the Jewish People were divided into two Parts. For *Moses* commanded the Multitude to observe all those Rites exactly as the Law prescribed them : But he was willing that they who were of a more capacious Mind, and Lovers of Vertue, should not confine themselves to that Bark, but aspire to a more noble and divine Philosophy, and penetrate into the deeper Meaning of the Law.

To these we may add what the same Author says concerning the Manner of handling philosophical Matters of both Worlds among the Jews *. Moreover, since they appointed two Methods of treating on these Affairs, the one which comprehends sensible Objects, was not accurately and subtilly to be explained to the common People ; nor did they think it proper that the Multitude should know the particular Causes of Nature, any farther than it was necessary to make them all know, that the Universe neither existed of it self, nor yet by Chance, but was governed by the Will of God the supreme Moderator, whose Wisdom is Infinite, &c.

After such a Manner as this did *Moses* philosophize concerning the natural World, that he might draw the Piety rather than Learning. There are several other Passages in this Author of an Affinity with these, which we have now recited ; but let us pass from *Eusebius* to other Christian Fathers.

As many among the Fathers as did not believe a sensible and corporeal Paradise, by that very Thing testified, as it were, with a loud Voice,

* Lib. xi. c. 7. p. m. 812.

that we ought not to adhere to the Bark and Letter of *Moses's* Narration. Now there were many of this Opinion, besides *Origen* and his Followers. There were three distinct Opinions of the Antients concerning Paradise, which *Augustin* takes Notice of *. Some thought of an intellectual One only, and some made it to be sensible and terrestrial, and others thought that Paradise was of both these Kinds. St. *Ambrose* † reduced these to yet narrower Bounds: For being asked by *Sabinus*, in a Letter, what he thought concerning Paradise; he answered, that he had written an entire Book concerning that Matter; and rehearsing the Opinions of others, says, They all agreed in this, that it was Spiritual. Farther, *Anastasius Sionita* *, in his Discourse on the Six Day's Creation, reckons up diverse Authors, who before his Time interpreted Paradise allegorically; but we shall not stay to consider these. I would only have the Reader take Notice, that these different Opinions about Paradise raised no Anger or Contention, agreeable to the Saying of St. *Austin* †; we think variously concerning Paradise, without any Injury to Faith or good Manners, or the least Breach of Friendship. But let us go on to the rest.

When *Celsus* objected against the Christians, that their Oracles were too obscure and dubious; *Origen* replied, that as to what concerned the Reformation of Manners, and the publick Benefit, there was nothing doubtfully expressed in the sacred Scriptures: But Matters of a higher Nature,

* Gen. Lib. viii. † In Enarr. ad Sab.

* B. B. P. P. Tom. vi. p. 663. † De Grat. Christ. contra Pelag. c. xxiii.

and

and uncommon Use, were frequently hidden under various Shadows of Speech, and reserved for wise Men. *Origen's* Words are these: The Prophets therefore (according to the Will of God) delivered those Things in a plain Manner, which were necessary for their Auditors to know. But as for abstruser Matters, which were worthy to be delivered only to those who understood the deepest Mysteries, and contained Theories and Speculations beyond the Capacity of the Populace. these they set forth in obscure Discourses, by *Ænigma's* and Allegories, by Similitudes and Parables.

And like as *Origen* answers *Celsus*, so *Cyril* replies to *Julian* †, when he was comparing the *Platonick* Account of the Creation with that of *Moses*, and preferred the former; because the latter was vulgar, and not worthy of God. While he was thus upbraiding us, *Cyril* returns him this Answer.

The Divine *Moses* did not propose to philosophize in a subtil Manner concerning the first Principles of Things, for they are too curious to be understood of all Men: But his Design at that Time was to lead the Minds of Men to true Doctrine. For then they wandered about, and paid Adoration to whatever their Eyes beheld; and being ignorant of the one, true, and only God, by Reason of their gross Ignorance, worshipped the Creature. And some of them adored the Heavens, and others the Sun, with the Title of Gods: And others studied to attribute the Glory of the supreme Being to the Moon,

† Lib. ii. ad 4 Object.

and Stars; to the Earth, Waters, and Planets; to Beasts and Birds. Now since Matters are come to this Height, and all the Inhabitants of the Earth laboured under such a dismal Distemper; *Moses* stood up to help them, the Author and Institutor of the best Doctrines, and cried with a loud and clear Voice, That there was one Creator of all Things, according to the Order of Nature, and he distinguished him from all other Things in the World, which received their Existence from his Power: Therefore very wisely and profitably omitting Subtleties and lesser Matters, he turned his Discourse to those which were more necessary. And a little after he says, that *Moses* carefully omitted all superfluous Curiosities, that he might the more effectually lead his People to the true Knowledge of the great God, and to engage them to lead sober and vertuous Lives.

God makes use of diverse Ways in his Government of the World; and according to the Nature of the Times and People, so he changes his Methods, that thereby he may more effectually promote the Salvation of all, as *Theodoret* observes †. So likewise *St. Chrysostom*, “ God, who in himself “ is unmoveable and immutable, yet attempts “ himself to humane Weakness. God often speaks, “ and appoints Laws not according to his Ability, but our Capacities”. Now what is unprofitable ought to be concealed, and what is hurtful should not be discovered; and we should always consider the Nature of what is good, or best.

† *Hæz. Fab. Lib. v. c. 11.*

In a Word, to speak in a comprehensive Manner according to the Opinion of the Fathers, there are many Things related in the sacred Scriptures oeconomically, as they love to speak, that is, agreeably to the Time and Dispensation that was then present. For so they are wont to explain some more difficult Things, which will not bear a literal Interpretation, but must be understood by Way of Accommodation to some useful Design, when the Nature of the Subject required it. The Fathers adapt this Sort of Explication to various Uses; thus when Christ says, *That he knew not when the Day of Judgement should be*; Cyril of Alexandria uses this Phrase, *Οικονομῶν γὰρ χρόνος*, Christ here speaks oeconomically; and Cyril of Alexandria says, that Christ uses a Kind of Dispensation, in saying, *That he knew not that Hour, when in Reality he was not ignorant of it*. Thus Photius * treating on the same Words of Christ, observes, that he did not inform his Disciples of what was then unprofitable for them to know, and that such a Proceeding was most agreeable to the indulgent Providence of God towards Men. He acted artificially, and by a Dispensation pretended Ignorance. Farther, St. Basil gives us † the same Exposition of the same Passage; for thy sake he was ignorant of the Hour and Day of Judgement, although nothing was hid from his unerring Wisdom. But Christ used that Dispensation, because of thine Infirmary, lest either they who had offended should be brought to Despair by the near Approach of that prescribed Time, as not having sufficient Time of Repentance left; or on the other Hand, lest those who had

* Epist. 228.

† Epist. 141.

engaged in the Christian Warfare should be tempted to forsake the Field, if they saw the Battle likely to endure for a long Time; thus by appearing ignorant, he consulted the Benefit of them both.

Now if our Saviour thus concealed his Mind, and the real Truth oeconomically, as the Fathers speak; why might not *Moses* also take the Liberty to depart from the Physical Truth in his Account of the Creation of the World, and to use another Method more proper to instruct the People? As for Example, If we suppose with St. *Augustin*, that the World was really created at one Instant, or in one indivisible Point of Time, and the Partition of the Work into six Days was only that the People might have a clearer Apprehension of it; What Evil would there be in this Management of Things, what Harm in such a Method of Writing? Or on the other Hand, if we suppose with the Philosophers, that the Formation of the Earth from the Chaos was a long Work drawn out by many Stages and Mutations, but that *Moses* contracted it to the Space of six Days, in Order to render it more useful to the People; I say, If *Moses* had done thus, in my Opinion, he had not only merited Pardon, but deserved Praise.

Clemens Alexandrinus * among other excellent Properties which he ascribes to his *Gnostick*, that is, to a Man truly wise, says; That he both apprehends and speaks the Truth, unless he tells a Falsehood for the Sake of those who are weak, as a Physician does for the Benefit of his Pati-

* Strom. vii. p. 730.

ents; and a little after he calls such an Instructor, a Lover both of God and Man.

This Father has well observed, that such a Proceeding should be, as it were, Medicinal; for we must not rashly depart from the Truth, out of a Wantonness of Imagination, but when the Matter requires it, and there are great Causes for so doing. And thus I believe that God permitted not only the most ancient of the Christian Fathers, but also the Apostles themselves to mistake in their Calculations about the End of the World, that thereby the Slothful might be more awakened, and excited to the Practice of Piety, and rendered undaunted amidst their Sufferings and Torments, and finally inabled intrepidly to sustain Death and Martyrdom. For who would be fond of the flying Light, or set his Heart on a World that might perish on the Morrow? Would any one sell the Hopes of Heaven and a future Life for so small a Price? But we shall proceed in our proposed Method.

What we have just now produced from *Clement Alexandrinus*, is of near Affinity to the Observations of *Plato* *, concerning the Use of Truth and Falschhood among wise Magistrates and Legislators. He says, in general, that Falschhood is by no means to be used, but in the Nature of a Medicine to drive away Evil. Yet he asserts, That such Medicines are most useful for Magistrates, and are often to be applied for the Benefit of the People. Magistrates, says he †, must often use Lies and Dissembling for the Benefit of their Subjects: And we have already

* De Repub. Lib. ii. in Fine. † De Repub. Lib. v. m. p. 450.

said that they are like salutary Medicines. Moreover, in his second Book of Laws, he has these Words: A Legislator, who is willing to be somewhat profitable, altho' Matters were not so with him as we have already shewn they are, if ever he should make use of any Falschhood among younger Persons for their Benefit; could he do a more serviceable Action, or by any readier Means draw them all to every Part of their Duty, not violently, but freely and pleasantly? Truth, my Friend, is a beautiful and stable Thing; but it is no easy Matter to persuade Persons to embrace it. And *Eusebius* * tells us, that we may find six hundred Passages to the same Purpose in the Writings of the Jews. But we have recited enough out of *Plato*.

But we shall cite a Passage from *Philo* the Jew, who is said to have Platonized—it becomes the best Legislator to have one single Aim to profit those with whom he has to do. *Philo* has applied these Things which are agreeable to the Doctrines of *Plato*, to vindicate *Moses* the Jewish Legislator, and the Style of holy Scripture; we therefore return to *Moses*.

Now *Philoponus*, who from a Philosopher became a Christian, has given his Opinion concerning *Moses's* Account of the Creation in six Days—*Moses* did not design to Act the Part of a Philosopher or Astronomer; but to lead Men to the Knowledge of God even in his Narration of the World's Original. *Eusebius*, whom we have before commended is of the same Opinion †. *Moses*, and the Hebrew Oracles were

* Præp. Ev. Lib. xii. c. 31.
in Fine.

† Præp. Ev. Lib. xv. c. 8.

not very curious in describing natural Causes, or celestial Appearances; nor was there any Reason they should, since they judged that such Matters would not contribute to the Reformation of the Lives of those who should study them.

It is easy to multiply more Authorities concerning that Vulgar Style which *Moses* uses, by Way of Condescension, in his History of the Creation: But lest I should be tedious, I shall only add the Suffrages of *St. Basil*, and *St. Chrysostome*. The Former * speaks thus: It is reasonable to suppose, that there was something before the Constitution of the Mosaick World; which indeed we may form an Idea of in our Minds: But *Moses* has not made the least mention of it; because the Knowledge of so great a Thing was improper for those People, who were like young Children, and not then initiated. *St. Chrysostome* † pursues the same Argument, and makes Use of the Example of a School-master in training up Boys, (as *St. Cyril* and other Fathers also do) the Sum of what he advances is this: That *Moses* in forming the Introduction to his Law, knowing very well with whom he had to do, and that the People were of an unpolished Disposition, he condescended to stoop to their Capacities, and discoursed concerning the Original, and Creator of the World, in such a Manner, as might best penetrate the Breasts of the unskilful Multitude, and lead them by an easy Method to the only true and omnipotent God.

* In Hexaemeron Sermone primo. In Gen. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000. 1001. 1002. 1003. 1004. 1005. 1006. 1007. 1008. 1009. 1010. 1011. 1012. 1013. 1014. 1015. 1016. 1017. 1018. 1019. 1020. 1021. 1022. 1023. 1024. 1025. 1026. 1027. 1028. 1029. 1030. 1031. 1032. 1033. 1034. 1035. 1036. 1037. 1038. 1039. 1040. 1041. 1042. 1043. 1044. 1045. 1046. 1047. 1048. 1049. 1050. 1051. 1052. 1053. 1054. 1055. 1056. 1057. 1058. 1059. 1060. 1061. 1062. 1063. 1064. 1065. 1066. 1067. 1068. 1069. 1070. 1071. 1072. 1073. 1074. 1075. 1076. 1077. 1078. 1079. 1080. 1081. 1082. 1083. 1084. 1085. 1086. 1087. 1088. 1089. 1090. 1091. 1092. 1093. 1094. 1095. 1096. 1097. 1098. 1099. 1100. 1101. 1102. 1103. 1104. 1105. 1106. 1107. 1108. 1109. 1110. 1111. 1112. 1113. 1114. 1115. 1116. 1117. 1118. 1119. 1120. 1121. 1122. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1126. 1127. 1128. 1129. 1130. 1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135. 1136. 1137. 1138. 1139. 1140. 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170. 1171. 1172. 1173. 1174. 1175. 1176. 1177. 1178. 1179. 1180. 1181. 1182. 1183. 1184. 1185. 1186. 1187. 1188. 1189. 1190. 1191. 1192. 1193. 1194. 1195. 1196. 1197. 1198. 1199. 1200. 1201. 1202. 1203. 1204. 1205. 1206. 1207. 1208. 1209. 1210. 1211. 1212. 1213. 1214. 1215. 1216. 1217. 1218. 1219. 1220. 1221. 1222. 1223. 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. 1228. 1229. 1230. 1231. 1232. 1233. 1234. 1235. 1236. 1237. 1238. 1239. 1240. 1241. 1242. 1243. 1244. 1245. 1246. 1247. 1248. 1249. 1250. 1251. 1252. 1253. 1254. 1255. 1256. 1257. 1258. 1259. 1260. 1261. 1262. 1263. 1264. 1265. 1266. 1267. 1268. 1269. 1270. 1271. 1272. 1273. 1274. 1275. 1276. 1277. 1278. 1279. 1280. 1281. 1282. 1283. 1284. 1285. 1286. 1287. 1288. 1289. 1290. 1291. 1292. 1293. 1294. 1295. 1296. 1297. 1298. 1299. 1300. 1301. 1302. 1303. 1304. 1305. 1306. 1307. 1308. 1309. 1310. 1311. 1312. 1313. 1314. 1315. 1316. 1317. 1318. 1319. 1320. 1321. 1322. 1323. 1324. 1325. 1326. 1327. 1328. 1329. 1330. 1331. 1332. 1333. 1334. 1335. 1336. 1337. 1338. 1339. 1340. 1341. 1342. 1343. 1344. 1345. 1346. 1347. 1348. 1349. 1350. 1351. 1352. 1353. 1354. 1355. 1356. 1357. 1358. 1359. 1360. 1361. 1362. 1363. 1364. 1365. 1366. 1367. 1368. 1369. 1370. 1371. 1372. 1373. 1374. 1375. 1376. 1377. 1378. 1379. 1380. 1381. 1382. 1383. 1384. 1385. 1386. 1387. 1388. 1389. 1390. 1391. 1392. 1393. 1394. 1395. 1396. 1397. 1398. 1399. 1400. 1401. 1402. 1403. 1404. 1405. 1406. 1407. 1408. 1409. 1410. 1411. 1412. 1413. 1414. 1415. 1416. 1417. 1418. 1419. 1420. 1421. 1422. 1423. 1424. 1425. 1426. 1427. 1428. 1429. 1430. 1431. 1432. 1433. 1434. 1435. 1436. 1437. 1438. 1439. 1440. 1441. 1442. 1443. 1444. 1445. 1446. 1447. 1448. 1449. 1450. 1451. 1452. 1453. 1454. 1455. 1456. 1457. 1458. 1459. 1460. 1461. 1462. 1463. 1464. 1465. 1466. 1467. 1468. 1469. 1470. 1471. 1472. 1473. 1474. 1475. 1476. 1477. 1478. 1479. 1480. 1481. 1482. 1483. 1484. 1485. 1486. 1487. 1488. 1489. 1490. 1491. 1492. 1493. 1494. 1495. 1496. 1497. 1498. 1499. 1500. 1501. 1502. 1503. 1504. 1505. 1506. 1507. 1508. 1509. 1510. 1511. 1512. 1513. 1514. 1515. 1516. 1517. 1518. 1519. 1520. 1521. 1522. 1523. 1524. 1525. 1526. 1527. 1528. 1529. 1530. 1531. 1532. 1533. 1534. 1535. 1536. 1537. 1538. 1539. 1540. 1541. 1542. 1543. 1544. 1545. 1546. 1547. 1548. 1549. 1550. 1551. 1552. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. 1559. 1560. 1561. 1562. 1563. 1564. 1565. 1566. 1567. 1568. 1569. 1570. 1571. 1572. 1573. 1574. 1575. 1576. 1577. 1578. 1579. 1580. 1581. 1582. 1583. 1584. 1585. 1586. 1587. 1588. 1589. 1590. 1591. 1592. 1593. 1594. 1595. 1596. 1597. 1598. 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. 1603. 1604. 1605. 1606. 1607. 1608. 1609. 1610. 1611. 1612. 1613. 1614. 1615. 1616. 1617. 1618. 1619. 1620. 1621. 1622. 1623. 1624. 1625. 1626. 1627. 1628. 1629. 1630. 1631. 1632. 1633. 1634. 1635. 1636. 1637. 1638. 1639. 1640. 1641. 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645. 1646. 1647. 1648. 1649. 1650. 1651. 1652. 1653. 1654. 1655. 1656. 1657. 1658. 1659. 1660. 1661. 1662. 1663. 1664. 1665. 1666. 1667. 1668. 1669. 1670. 1671. 1672. 1673. 1674. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684. 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688. 1689. 1690. 1691. 1692. 1693. 1694. 1695. 1696. 1697. 1698. 1699. 1700. 1701. 1702. 1703. 1704. 1705. 1706. 1707. 1708. 1709. 1710. 1711. 1712. 1713. 1714. 1715. 1716. 1717. 1718. 1719. 1720. 1721. 1722. 1723. 1724. 1725. 1726. 1727. 1728. 1729. 1730. 1731. 1732. 1733. 1734. 1735. 1736. 1737. 1738. 1739. 1740. 1741. 1742. 1743. 1744. 1745. 1746. 1747. 1748. 1749. 1750. 1751. 1752. 1753. 1754. 1755. 1756. 1757. 1758. 1759. 1760. 1761. 1762. 1763. 1764. 1765. 1766. 1767. 1768. 1769. 1770. 1771. 1772. 1773. 1774. 1775. 1776. 1777. 1778. 1779. 1780. 1781. 1782. 1783. 1784. 1785. 1786. 1787. 1788. 1789. 1790. 1791. 1792. 1793. 1794. 1795. 1796. 1797. 1798. 1799. 1800. 1801. 1802. 1803. 1804. 1805. 1806. 1807. 1808. 1809. 1810. 1811. 1812. 1813. 1814. 1815. 1816. 1817. 1818. 1819. 1820. 1821. 1822. 1823. 1824. 1825. 1826. 1827. 1828. 1829. 1830. 1831. 1832. 1833. 1834. 1835. 1836. 1837. 1838. 1839. 1840. 1841. 1842. 1843. 1844. 1845. 1846. 1847. 1848. 1849. 1850. 1851. 1852. 1853. 1854. 1855. 1856. 1857. 1858. 1859. 1860. 1861. 1862. 1863. 1864. 1865. 1866. 1867. 1868. 1869. 1870. 1871. 1872. 1873. 1874. 1875. 1876. 1877. 1878. 1879. 1880. 1881. 1882. 1883. 1884. 1885. 1886. 1887. 1888. 1889. 1890. 1891. 1892. 1893. 1894. 1895. 1896. 1897. 1898. 1899. 1900. 1901. 1902. 1903. 1904. 1905. 1906. 1907. 1908. 1909. 1910. 1911. 1912. 1913. 1914. 1915. 1916. 1917. 1918. 1919. 1920. 1921. 1922. 1923. 1924. 1925. 1926. 1927. 1928. 1929. 1930. 1931. 1932. 1933. 1934. 1935. 1936. 1937. 1938. 1939. 1940. 1941. 1942. 1943. 1944. 1945. 1946. 1947. 1948. 1949. 1950. 1951. 1952. 1953. 1954. 1955. 1956. 1957. 1958. 1959. 1960. 1961. 1962. 1963. 1964. 1965. 1966. 1967. 1968. 1969. 1970. 1971. 1972. 1973. 1974. 1975. 1976. 1977. 1978. 1979. 1980. 1981. 1982. 1983. 1984. 1985. 1986. 1987. 1988. 1989. 1990. 1991. 1992. 1993. 1994. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 21

Lastly, To finish this Argument, Bring the Case to our Times, and let any one judge concerning it. Should any one now discharge the Office of a Prophet, or Apostle among the *Indians*, or other Infidels, would he not as often as he had occasion to discourse concerning the Heavens, Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars, make Use of the popular Style and Opinion, and talk of them agreeably to the received Opinions about them in those Nations, and comply with the Imaginations of the common People, as to the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, and the Magnitude of the Planets, the Stability of the Earth, and other like Topicks? Although at the same Time he very well knew, and was thoroughly persuaded, that those Opinions were contrary to the Calculations and Arguments of Astronomers and Philosophers. Nor would he think it was his Business to teach those Barbarians subtil Theorems of Philosophy, but Religion, and the Worship and Precepts of the true God. Now this was the Case of *Moses*, as well as of our *Indian* Apostle, whom we are speaking of, and Circumstances of this Nature were much stronger on his Side, if we compare the Times, and People together. But enough of this Argument.

In the *fourth* and last Place, we are to admonish those who stick close to the Letter and Words of *Moses* in all Things, that they would not admit any Thing unworthy of God, or our Religion, or by their Irreverence the Majesty of the Divine Being. As we are Christians, we worship the supreme Deity, a God of the greatest Power and Goodness, or, as he is usually defined, a Being infinitely perfect: We must therefore

fore attribute nothing in our Divinity to God, which is unbecoming a Being infinitely perfect. Now can we say that a Being infinitely perfect descended from Heaven, and walked at Evening Tide in the Garden? That a Being infinitely perfect made Coats of Skins, and put them on the Man, and the Woman; with many other Things which are related concerning the Being of infinite Perfection in that Colloquy with *Adam*, the Woman, and the Serpent.

When therefore we attribute any Thing to the Deity which is unworthy of him, not in Words only, but really as to the Matter it self, we offend against the Dignity of the divine Nature. Which, if it were done with a wicked Mind, would not only have an Air of Reproach, but of Blasphemy. We ought therefore to take Care on both Sides, that we do neither rashly depart from the Letter without Reason, nor yet on the other Hand interpret those Things which are spoken in a popular Manner to the Dishonour of the Deity. For as *Clemens Alexandrinus* * has rightly observed, He is the only Friend of God, who preserves for him whatsoever is worthy of his Nature.

We are likewise obliged to maintain the Honour of our Religion: The Adversaries to the Christian Religion used to take an Occasion from the Writings of *Moses* grossly expounded to deride our Religion, as well as that of the *Jews*, and laugh at it as silly and fabulous. We have before given Instances of this in *Simplicius*, and in *Celsus*, who among other Things calls † the Mo-

* Strom. vii. p. m. 701. † Orig. contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 309.

saical Generation of the World exceeding foolish. Now let us hear *Julian* harping on the same String; when he is speaking of the Dialogue between *Eve* and the *Serpent*, he asks this Question *, What Difference is between these and the *Græcian* Fables? And he boldly and openly asserts concerning the Garden of *Eden*, and the Woman given to be a Help to *Adam*, who yet notwithstanding deceived him before the Evening, that they are altogether fabulous †.

Lastly, He thus gives his Opinion concerning the Ejection of *Adam* out of Paradise, for his having eaten the forbidden Fruit, lest he should taste of the Tree of Life, and become Immortal; This whole Account || (says *Julian*) unless it be a Fable, containing some secret Speculations, as far as I can perceive, is filled with many blasphemous Speeches concerning God.

You see here what Offence is taken by the Heathen Philosophers at those Things, because they supposed them to be unworthy of God, and of a Religion which came from Heaven; that is, if we adhere to the Skin or Bark of the Words. Therefore, I think, that Interpretation ought to be commended which removes this Odium, these Scandals from our Religion.

Lastly, *Moses* must be so understood, that he may neither differ from himself, nor yet from other sacred Authors, in his Account of the Originals of Things: For, should his Writings contradict one another, it would turn to the great Prejudice and Reproach of our Religion. There-

* *Cyr. contra Jul. Lib. iii. Object. 2.* † *Ibid. Object. 1.*
 || *Ibid. Object. 4.*

fore, when *Moses* exhibits to us in his *Hexæmeron*, the present Earth, instead of the primitive One; and afterwards introduces *Phænomenons*, which cannot be reconciled to the Nature of the present Earth, such as the long Lives of the *Antediluvians*, the Breaking up of the Abyss in the Deluge, and the Original of the Rainbow after the Flood: The History of the six Days Creation must be so explained, that *Moses* may be consistent with himself. Moreover, if the Royal Prophet celebrates among other wonderful Works of God, his Founding of the Earth upon the Waters *, and his stretching out the Earth above the Waters †; and Wisdom speaks § of God's setting a Compass upon the Face of the Deep; and St. *Peter* tells us, that the *Antediluvian* Earth was standing out of the Water, and in the Water, whereby it became obnoxious to the Deluge of the Waters: All these Things are to be so taken or handled, that the popular Accounts which we meet with in the Mosaiical History of the six Days Creation, may not over-turn the Author, and other sacred Writers; especially since by a proper Interpretation of one Chapter, which is also necessary upon diverse other Accounts, *Moses* may be made not only consistent with himself, but other inspired Pen-Men.

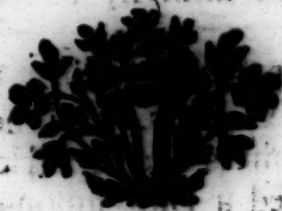
These Things I propose with a View of reconciling the Sacred Writers, and not with a Design to set the Prophets and Apostles at variance; that so having raised a Dust amongst such great Men, I might in the mean Time escape. But

* Psalm xxiv. 2. † Psalm cxxxvi. 6. § Prov. viii. 27.
when

when they press us with the Weight of one Place, or Author, it seems but reasonable to lay another or more in the opposite Scale, that the Cause, at least, may be balanced, if not incline to our Side. But enough of these Things.

And now to put an End to this Treatise, Although we are firmly persuaded of the Truth of what we have taught concerning the Mosaical History of the Creation, yet we are willing that others should look upon it only as an Essay.

We are often blind to our own Errours, but very quick-sighted to observe the Faults of others. In the mean Time I shall neither neglect my own second Thoughts, nor despise the Admonitions of others. And now let us close all with hearty Prayers to Almighty God, That he would vouchsafe to pardon our Errours, as we forgive one another. That he would consider our Frailty, and have Compassion on us who are so oppressed with Straits and Darknes in this Flesh, which is the Prison of the Soul; and finally, that he would grant us such fresh and gracious Illumination, that by the Conduct of his Light, we may at length be brought to his Celestial Kingdom, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.



A P P E N -

POSTSCRIPT.

DR. BURNET having (in *Page 17. Line 24.* of this Work) mentioned *Dodona's GROVE*, It may not be amiss to let the Reader know, that the learned Author there refers to a celebrated *Allegorical Piece*, written by JAMES HOWELL, Esq; during our *Civil Wars*, under the following Title,

ΔΕΝΔΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ. *Dodona's GROVE: Or, The Vocal Forest.* It contains a lively Representation of those distracted Times, and hath prefixed to it many Encomiums of the most eminent Persons, among whom it is by none more elegantly characterized, than by the truly learned and very worthy Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton College, viz. To the rarely accomplished, and worthy of best Employment, Mr. HOWELL, upon his *Vocal Forest*.

BELIEVE it, Sir, you happily have hit

Upon a curious Fancy, of such Wit

That

That far transcends the Vulgar ; for each Line,

*Methinks, breathes Barclay, * or a Boccaline. †*

I know you might, none better, make the Vine,

The Olive, Ivy, Mulberry, and Pine,

With others, their own Dialects expose,

But you have taught 'em all rich English Prose.

I End, and Envy, but must justly say,

Who makes TREES speak so well, deserves the Bay.

HENRY WOTTON.

JOHN BARCLAY, a Scot, rendered Famous by being the Author of a *Latin Romance*, intituled, *ARGENIS*. It is translated into *English* under the Title of, *The Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis*, and printed in *Quarto*, with Cuts.

† TRAJANO BOCCALINI, an *Italian*, who lost his Life for a satyrical Piece, intituled, *Raggugli di Parnasso*, i. e. *Advices from Parnassus*. This Work of Boccalini has been no less than four Times attempted in *English*. 1. By Henry Earl of Monmouth. 2. By Colonel Bladen. 3. By John Hughes Esq. 4. By the Reverend Mr. Earbery, who is now carrying on a new Translation, with Remarks.

We shall here give Mr. EARBERY'S *Sentiments* of the *Archæologia*, having endeavoured to pursue his Instructions in the Course of our Remarks thereon, viz.

THERE

“ THERE is a great deal of * Learning in
 “ the Book, and I would not condemn good
 “ Sentiments for keeping Company with ill ones:
 “ It is like the World, a Mixture of Good and
 “ Bad; and a critical Judgement separates one
 “ from the other; preserves the Wheat, and
 “ condemns the Chaff to unquenchable Fire.
 “ I could never find, that Errors can stand in
 “ the Face of Truth; they only shine with
 “ Glow-worm-feebleness in the Dark. This Way
 “ spoils numerous Editions of pestiferous Books,
 “ and, indeed, extinguishes *Heresy* in its Birth.
 “ He has his Bye to the threefold Division of
 “ the World, as he calls it, the *Obscure*, *Fabulous*,
 “ and *Historical*. The *Obscure*, he says, is be-
 “ fore the *Deluge*; the *Fabulous* from thence
 “ to *Olympiads*; and the *Historical* from the
 “ *Olympiads* to the present *Age*. The first he
 “ terms *obscure*, though, indeed, it is far prefer-
 “ able to the second; and a more punctual and
 “ exact Account is given thereof in the Scrip-
 “ ture, than even the most forward Expectations
 “ could come up to: And yet even these Ac-
 “ counts he endeavours to fabulize away; he in-
 “ dustriously renders obscure, and enervates the
 “ most noble and most evincing Testimonies for
 “ the Truth of Divine Revelation: And I may
 “ venture to assert, that the *Mosaic* Account of the
 “ Creation of the World is the Fountain of all
 “ the antient Philosophy throughout the whole
 “ World: His first Book is entirely taken up
 “ with that Philosophy diffused over several

* See, Mr. Earbery's Translation of *the State of the Dead*,
 Vol. II. pag. 128, 129.

“ Nations,

“ Nations, and contracted afterwards amongst
 “ the *Grecian* Sects.

“ His second Book which, indeed, ought to
 “ be the first, is upon what he is pleased to
 “ call, *The obscure Age of the World*. How far he
 “ agrees or breaks off from *Moses*, he ingenuouſ-
 “ ly tells us in the second Paragraph of his *Eighth*
 “ Chapter: *The Hexaemeron*, says he, and the
 “ Theory agree, as to the first Origination of
 “ Things, as they both suppose the Chaos to be
 “ the subject Matter for the Formation of the
 “ World: They agree likewise in the general Order;
 “ the inanimate World first, and the Animal One
 “ afterwards. In the rest then, as to Form, Restric-
 “ tion, Manner, and Time of producing this World,
 “ they differ much.

“ We find here, his Design was to allow on-
 “ ly the first two Verses of the Book of *Genesis*
 “ to be true, and to reject all the rest; a
 “ very close Connection this, with *Truth* and *Fable*
 “ together, and a very odd Account of the Ve-
 “ racity and Authentickness of the sacred Wri-
 “ tings.

“ He will by no Means allow *Moses* to treat
 “ of the Creation of the *Universe*, but only of the
 “ *sublunary World*, our little *Globe*; so that all that
 “ *Moses* speaks of the *Stars*, and of the *Sun*, he
 “ supposes must be fabulous.

“ I have given this short Account, by which
 “ it appears what a large Portion of Christian
 “ Theology he lops away at once, by the con-
 “ sequences to be deduced from this Scheme; and
 “ how far he contradicts the *Revelations* in the
 “ *New Testament*, will easily appear to any con-
 “ sidering Man”.

M. E A R B E R Y.

Notwithstanding the many Attempts to suppress so learned and curious Work, there is just Published in Two Volumes Octavo, The Second Edition of,

DR. BURNET's *State of the Dead, and Those that are to Rise. The Contents of which are as follow, viz.*

1. That Human Happiness has not only a Dependence on this Life, but on Another.
2. That the Human Soul is an Immortal Substance, distinct from the Body and from Matter.
3. What is the future State of the Soul after the Corporeal Dissolution, or concerning the Middle State of Souls betwixt Death and the Resurrection, as to the Degrees of Happiness and Misery. With an Appendix concerning Prayers for the Dead.
4. The Natural State of Souls during the Interval of Death and the Resurrection. Whether they are naked and separated from all Manner of Corporeal Substance, or are united to an Aerial One, or to some other.
5. A Transition to the other Parts of this Treatise; and first, concerning the Coming of Christ, and the Conflagration of the World.
6. Of the Supreme Judgment, its Apparatus, Manner, End, and Effect.
7. Of the Resurrection of the Dead; the State of the Raised, and of their Bodies.
8. What Bodies we are to have at the Resurrection; whether the same with our present, or different ones therefrom.
9. Of the First and Last Resurrection; the New Heaven and the New Earth; and the Restoration of Nature; the Millenary Reign of Christ; and the Consummation of all Things. With a Digression concerning

concerning the State of the Jews in the Millennium, and the future Reign of the Messiah. 10. Of Heaven and Hell; what is the Heaven of the Christians, and how far Local; what is Hell, and whether there is a subterraneous one or not; or any other local, corporeal and external one before the Day of Judgement and the Conflagration of the World; of the Pains of Hell; whether they are infinite, or finite, or no. Lastly, An Account of the Author's Life and Writings.

How I have treated Dr. BURNER, I leave to the general Sense of Mankind; I have Translated him Faithfully, answered him Impartially, dealt with him Coolly, and set him right for publick Reading.

M. EARBERRY.



A N
APPENDIX
Concerning the
Modern *BRACHMANS*
IN THE
INDIES,
Together with their generally received
OPINIONS.

HAVING already spoken of the Modern *Brachmans* in the *Indies* * (whom, besides the near resemblance of their Studies and Customs, we have several other Arguments to shew they are descended from the ancient Race) I think it may be neither impertinent or unpleasant to add some few Words here by way of Appendix, about their Opinions concerning the Originals and Revolutions of Things; which Opinions are, it is true, neglected by most People, because they are delivered in a mythological way; and that Truth is very much clouded with Fables.

Under the Name of *Indies*, we here comprehend, besides the *Chinese* Empire, and Kingdom of *Indostan*, or Dominion of the Great *Mogul*, the Kingdoms of

* Vid. Lib. i. Cap. iii. viz. *Indorum Orientalium perlustratio: Speciatim de Serum & Brachmanum literis & philosophia.*

Siam, of the *Malabars*, of *Cochinchina*, of *Coromandel*, and whatever others are known to us in the *East*, that have in some measure shaken off their Barbarity. Now in each of these are a certain sort of Philosophers or Divines, and in the Kingdoms of *Indostan*, *Siam*, and the other adjacent Parts, there are some who seem to be the Progeny of the ancient *Brachmans*, being different and distinguished from the rest of the People by their Manner and Way of Living, as well as by a Doctrine and Language wholly peculiar to themselves. They have a certain *Cabala*, or Body of Learning, which they receive by Tradition from one to the other. Now this Body of Learning does not treat of each little Point of Nicety in Philosophy, as our modern Philosophers used to do; but like the natural Theology of the Ancients, it treats of God, of the World, of the Beginning and Ending of Things, of the Periods of the World, of the Primitive State of Nature, together with its repeated Renovations. All which Opinions are by some more plainly, by others more obscurely and fabulously delivered; but that they were of old spread amongst these Nations, is plain from several Footsteps of them at this Day remaining. For a Specimen whereof, we will give you some short Remarks out of our late Voyages, upon several Heads of this now barbarous Theology, or Philosophy: Nor is it of Moment with what Kingdom or Country we begin.

The *Mogul's* Kingdom called *Indostan*, is extremely large, and has been visited by several *Europeans*, whose Credit and Authority are sufficient to make them be believed. There are in this Kingdom, besides *Mahometans*, those they call *Gentiles* or *Pagans*; among which *Gentiles* is a certain Tribe or Order of Men, who bear the Title, and perform the Offices of Sages, Priests, or Philosophers. They have a
Language

A P P E N D I X. 3

Language peculiar to themselves, which they call *Hanscrit*, or the pure Tongue; in this Language they have some very ancient Books, which they call Sacred, and say were given by God to the Great Prophet *Brachma*; as formerly the Law of the *Israelites* was to *Moses*. * *Athan. Kircher* gives you an Alphabet of this *Brachman* Language, written by the Hand of Father *Henry Roth*, who for several Years in the *Indies* applied himself to the Learning of the *Brachmans*. And in this they not only write and conceal their Divinity, but also their Opinions in Philosophy of all Kinds besides the *μετεμψύχωσις*, and the *ἐποχὴ ἐμψύχων*, which are Opinions of a very ancient Date. They likewise philosophize after the manner of the Ancients, upon the Creation of the Universe, together with its End and Destruction; for they explain these things by the Efflux or Emanation of all things from God, and by their Reflux or Restoration into him again: But this they propound in a Cabalistical Mythological Way. For they feign a certain immense Spider to be the first Cause of all Things, and that she, with the Matter she exhausted out of her own Bowels, spun the Web of this whole Universe, and then disposed of it with a most wonderful Art; whilst she herself in the mean time sitting on the Top of her Work, feels, rules, and governs the Motion of each Part. At last, when she has sufficiently pleased and diverted herself, in adorning and contemplating her own Web, she retracts the Thread she has unfolded, and swallows them up again into herself; whereby the whole Nature of Things created, vanishes into nothing.

After this manner our modern *Brachmans* represent the Birth, Order, and Perishing of the World.

* Chin. Illust. Par. III. Ch. 7.

Nor does this much differ from the Opinions of the Ancients we have above mentioned, (*lib. i. cap. 7.*) provided, that taking off the fabulous Shell, we go to the Kernel. If you have leisure to read a larger Account of the *Indostan Gentiles*, it is what you may find in *Henry Lord*, *F. Bernier*, and other Travellers, who have more diligently enquired into their Literature.

In the Kingdom of *Siam*, which Borders upon the Empire of the *Mogul*, there is the same Progeny of the *Brachmans*. *Guido Tachard*, a Jesuit, who was one of the *French Ambassador's* Retinue to the King of *Siam*, has given us this Account of their Philosophy or Theology. They say, That the first Men were of greater Stature, and longer-lived than we now adays are; as also, that they lived many Ages free from Distempers. That this Modern Earth, parched with a long Heat, will at length be consumed by Fire, the Ocean being dried up, the Mountains melted, and the whole Surface of the Earth being made level. This I find in our aforesaid Author, with more of the same in others; all which a late Poet has compiled, and facetiously explained in these Versicles. *

*Stolidus Regni Mysta Siami,
Octoginta dat perituro
Sacula Mundo. Tunc qui tantum
Jam fuerit uno fervidus oculo,
Septem pandet lumina Phœbus,
Queis aquoreas ebibet Undas.
Queis immensum vindice flammâ*

* See, ZEVECOT. in Frag. Mar. Græc.

A P P E N D I X. 5

*Destruet Orbem. Sed duo calidis,
 Quæ restabunt tecta favillis
 Binos homines Ova creabunt.
 Qui fœcundo semine cultum
 Iterum poterunt reddere mundum,
 Quem non falsis Neptunus aquis,
 Alluet unquam, tantum rigui
 Undique fontes dulcesque Lacus,
 Irrorabunt molliter herbas.
 Et perpetuo vere beatos
 Spargent variis floribus agros.*

Thus attempted in *English*, viz.

The *Siam* Priest with Notions wild
 And vain Philosophy beguil'd,
 Strange Changes does relate:
 For fourscore Ages tedious round
 Still shall the World the same be found,
 Nor sooner comes its Fate.

But when the *Sun* who gilds the *Sky*
 With one delightful dazling Eye,
 Shall give a seven-fold Blaze,
 The mighty *Ocean* shall retire,
 And *Earth* submit to that fierce Fire,
 That burns the boundless *Seas*. But

6 *A P P E N D I X.*

But in the Embers will remain
Two EGGS to stock the World again ;
 And raise the human Race,
 From them *two* PERSONS soon will rise ;
 And fruitful Seed with large Supplies,
 Shall fill the desert Place.

On this new verdant happy Seat,
 Proud *Neptune's* Waves shall never beat,
 But Rills the Flowers bedew.
 The Lakes will shine, the Fountains play,
 And Spring, in Robes profusely gay,
 Will smile for ever new.

The *Siamese Brachmans* not only say, that this Modern Earth must perish, and that by Fire; but even that out of its Ashes a new Earth must arise; and *without a Sea*; that is to say, such a one as *St. John* the Prophet saw, *Apoc. xxi. 1.* and without the yearly Vicissitudes of the Seasons, being blest with a *perpetual Spring*; such another Earth as we have described in the Fourth Book of our *Theory*, Cap. 2. It is really a most wonderful thing that a Nation half barbarous, should have retained these Opinions from the very Times of *Noah*; for they could not have arrived to a Knowledge of these Things any other way than by Tradition; nor could this Tradition flow from any other Spring than *Noah*, and the *Ante-diluvian Sages*. But out
of

A P P E N D I X. 7

of what Author or *Siamese* Traveller the Poet has taken these Things, I have not yet been able to learn. Moreover, the Kingdom of *Coromandel*, on the Southern Coast of the *Indies*, has its *Brachmans*; whose Manners and Doctrine have been with no small Diligence enquired into by *Abraham Rogers*, who wrote the Book called — *Fanua apertam ad Arcana Gentilismi*.** Having himself lived many Years there. Now they affirm that there are several Worlds which do at one and the same time exist in divers Regions of the Universe: and that there are several successive ones; for that the same World is destroyed and renewed again according to certain Periods of Time. They say also that our Terrestrial World began by a certain Golden Age, and will perish by Fire. Lastly, they retain the Doctrine of the *Ovum Mundanum*, comparing the World to an Egg; as did the Ancients both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Finally, to the Kingdom of *Coromandel* is contiguous that of the *Malabars*; where Father *Robert Nobilius*, Founder (as it is said) of the *Mandarian Mission**, has spent no small part of his Life, learned as well in the vulgar *Indian* Language, as in that of the *Brachmans*: Then he is said to have written a great deal concerning the *Theory* of the *Brachmans*, but I know not in what Language: for I have not yet happened to light upon any of his Writings; neither have I any Account of This, or the rest of the Countries of the *Indies*, to be depended upon, to furnish me with their Opinions, either from Eye or Ear Witnesses.

We have likewise before mentioned the † *Chinese*, a People of great Antiquity, but among the Ancients unknown, as to matter of Learning, they

** The Gate of Gentile Secrets unlock'd.

* *Vide* Alcgamb.

† M. Mart. Hist. S. in c. 1. & *Nieuhof*. Legat. Bat. p. 51.

have this in common with the rest of the Orientals, that they compare the World to an Egg, and will have it to be born of one. In like manner they say, their first Man, whom they call *Puon-cuus*, was born of an Egg; whether you will suppose, that by it they mean the *Chaos*, or the Primitive Earth; and although they do not seem to have derived their Philosophy or History from the *Brachmans*, yet they set so great a Value on their Letters, and secret Alphabet, that as things Sacred, and of a very great Antiquity, they use to inscribe them on their Idols. As for the *Mahometans*, who are spread at large over the East under several different Dominions, I pass by them, as Men of an upstart, ignorant kind: What an *Egyptian* Priest formerly told *SOLON*, (*You Greeks, are always Boys; not one of you Greeks ever comes to be old*) may, changing Names, be much more properly said to them. Nor does the *Egyptian* give an ill Reason for what he says, — “You are young in your Minds; “ for in them is no Tenent of the Ancients, that “ comes by ancient Tradition: you retain no Learning that is grey with old Age. These things exactly square with the *Mahometans*, wheresoever they are dispersed, they retain nothing of ancient Wisdom; for the Ambition of extending their Dominions, has taken from them all manner of Love or Desire of Learning. Even in *Persia* it self, where formerly flourished the mystical Philosophy of the great *Zoroaster*, and the *Magi*, at this Day remains nothing worth taking notice of. The aforementioned *Henry Roth* relates, that when the *Sarazens* over-ran all *Persia*, having beaten and slain the King of *Jeздеgrid* about the Year of our Lord 628. some of the *Persians*, who could not bear the Yoke of a new Slavery, and new Religion, transported themselves and their Effects by Sea into *India*: And that

A P P E N D I X. 9

that having sworn Allegiance to the *Indian* Kings, they each of them freely exercised their own Religion, and ancient way of living. The same Author relates some Opinions generally received by these *Persians* transplanted into *India*, concerning the Original Age, and End of the World: But they are so stuffed with Fables, that they hardly seem worth while to repeat. This must be observed in general, of the modern *Pagans*, that there are (it is true) now remaining amongst them some *Footsteps* of the most ancient Tenents, which come to them by Tradition from their Ancestors, but quite overwhelmed with *Trash* and *Filthiness*, being for the most part clogged with fabulous Additions, even to the degree of being nauseous; insomuch that when you come to manly Arguments, they are of no manner of Validity. I cannot but pity the Eastern World, that the Place which was the first Habitation of wise Men, and one Day a most flourishing *Emporium* for Learning, should for some Ages past have been changed into a wretched Barbarity.

Tanta'ne Animis cœlestibus Ira? Virg.

I pray God grant that we may not undergo the same Vicissitude, and that in his Anger he may not withdraw that Light we now enjoy in the West, but that it may be more and more diffused on all sides, till *The Knowledge of GOD shall have filled the Earth, as the Waters fill the Sea.*

To this Account, given by Dr. Burnet of the *Brachmans*-Notions relating to the Creation of the World, we have here subjoined the *Indian*-Sentiments concerning the *Soul's Immortality*, &c. in the following Letter, viz.

TO

10 A P P E N D I X.

T O T H E

R I G H T H O N O U R A B L E
J O H N,
E A R L o f R O C H E S T E R.

My LORD,

I Had the Honour Yesterday to receive from the Hands of an humble Servant of your Lordship's, your most incomparable Version of that Passage of *Seneca's*, where he begins with, *Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil*, &c. * and must confess, with your Lordship's Pardon, that I cannot but esteem the Translation to be, in some measure, a *Confutation* of the *Original*; since what less than a divine and immortal Mind could have produced what you have there written? Indeed, the Hand that wrote it may become *Lumber*, but sure the Spirit that dictated it can never be so; No, my Lord, your mighty Genius is a most sufficient Argument of its own Immortality; and more prevalent with me, than all the Harangues of the Parsons, or Sophistry of the Schoolmen. No Subject whatever has more entangled and ruffled the Thoughts of the wisest Men, than this concerning

* After Death *nothing* is, and *nothing* Death, &c. See, The Edition of his Lordship's Poems, with *Valentinian*. Printed by *J. Tonson*.

our

APPENDIX. 11

our Future State ; it has been controverted in all Ages, by Men of the greatest Learning and Parts. We must also confess, that your Author *Seneca* has not wanted Advocates for the Assertion of his Opinion ; nay, even such, who would pretend to justify it, out of the very Scriptures themselves ; *Ex. gr.* as when *Solomon* says, (*Eccles. vii. 12.*) — *Then shall the Dust return to Dust as it was, and the Spirit to God that gave it.* — And (*Eccles. iii. 20, 21.*) when he declares, — *All go to the same place ; all are of Dust, and all turn to Dust again. Who knoweth the Spirit of Man that goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beast that goeth downward to the Earth* — Again, (*Eccles. iii. 19.*) when he tells us, — *That which befalleth the Sons of Men befalleth Beasts, even one thing befalleth them both : As the one dieth, so doth the other ; yea, they have all one Breath : so that a Man hath no preeminence above a Beast* — Likewise to such who are desirous to know what their Friends are in the other World, or (to speak more properly,) their dead Friends know ; *Solomon* answers their inconsiderate Wish (*Eccles. ix. 5.*) with these Words — *The Living know they shall die, but the Dead know not any thing* — Moreover, others, for the purpose, cite that Passage of *Luke xx. 38.* where it is said, — *He is not a God of the Dead, but of the Living* — All which Texts (through the Weakness of Understanding) have by some Men been misapplied, as concurrent with the *Anima Mundi* of *PYTHAGORAS*, which has been since in a great measure revived by *Averroes* and *Avicenna*, although in one Point they differed among themselves : For, that *Averroes* believed, after Death, our Souls returned and mixed with the common Soul of the World ; whereas *Avicenna* thought it a distinct Portion of the *Anima Mundi*, which after our Deaths remained entire and separate, till it met

12 A P P E N D I X.

met with some other Body capable of receiving it, and then being cloathed therewith, it operated *ad modum Recipientis*. *Monsieur* BERNIER likewise gives us, agreeable to *Averroes*, an account of much the same Opinion held at this time by some of the *Indians* of *Indostan*, whose Faith he illustrates after this Manner, — ‘ They believe (says he) the *Soul* ‘ in *Man’s* Body to be like a *Bottle* fill’d with *Sea-* ‘ *water*, which being close stopped and cast into ‘ the *Sea*, tides it up and down, till by some Ac- ‘ cident or other, the unfaithful *Cork*, or decrepit ‘ *Bottle*, becomes disordered, so as the *Water* eva- ‘ cuates and disgorges it self again into the com- ‘ mon *Ocean*, from whence it was at first taken — Which agrees very well with what (as *PHILOSTRATUS* tells us, *lib. viii. chap. 13.*) *APOLLONIUS*, after his Death, revealed to a young Man concerning the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, in these Lines, as rendred from the *Greek* :

Est Anima immortalis, & incorrupta manebit,
Non tua res, verum quæ providet omnia Diva ;
Quæ velut acer equus, corrupto corpore Vinculis
Profilit, & tenui miscetur flamine Cæli :
Cui grave servitium est, atque intolerabile visum. —

The *Soul’s* *Immortal*, and once being free,
 Belongs to Providence, and not to Thee :
 She, like a Horse let loose, doth take her flight
 Out of the Carcass, and herself unite.

With the pure Body of the liquid Sky;
As weary of her former Slavery.

But he, among the Heathens, who spake plainest and fullest of this Matter, was PLINY in his *Natural History*, lib. vii. ch. 4. where he writes to this purpose :

‘ After the Interment of our Bodies, there is
‘ great diversity of Opinions concerning the Fu-
‘ ture State of our wandering Souls or Ghosts; but
‘ the most general is this, That in what condition
‘ they were before they were born Men, in the
‘ same they shall remain when dead; forasmuch as
‘ neither Body nor Soul hath any more sense after
‘ our dying Day, than they had before the Day
‘ of our Nativity. However, such is the Folly
‘ and Vanity of Men, that it extendeth even to
‘ future Ages; nay, and in the very time of
‘ Death, even flattereth it self with fine Imagina-
‘ tions and Dreams of I know not what after this
‘ Life. For, some crown the Soul with Immor-
‘ tality, others pretend a Transfiguration thereof;
‘ and others suppose that the Ghosts sequestred
‘ from the Body have Sense; whereupon they ren-
‘ der them Honour and Worship, making a God
‘ of him that is not so much as a Man: As if
‘ the Manner of Men’s Breathing differed from
‘ that of other living Creatures; or as if there
‘ were not to be found in the World many more
‘ Things that live much longer than Man; and
‘ yet no Man judgeth in them the like Immorta-
‘ lity. But shew me, if you can, what is the
‘ Substance and Body of the Soul (as it were) by
‘ it self? What kind of Matter is it apart from
‘ the Body? Where lyeth the Cogitation that she
‘ hath? How is her Seeing? How is her Hear-
‘ ing

14 A P P E N D I X.

' ing performed? What Toucheth she? Nay, what
 ' one thing doth she? How is she employed? Or
 ' if there be none of all this in her, what good
 ' can there be without the same? Again, I would
 ' fain know where she resides after her departure
 ' from the Body? And what an infinite Multitude
 ' of Souls, like Shadows, would there be in so
 ' many Ages as well past, as to come? Now, sure-
 ' ly, these are but fantastical, foolish, and childish
 ' Toys, devised by Men that would fain live al-
 ' ways; the like foolery is there in preserving the
 ' Bodies. Nor was the Vanity of DEMOCRITUS
 ' less, who promised a Resurrection of the Body,
 ' and yet himself could never rise again. But what
 ' a Folly of Follies is it, to think that Death should
 ' be the way to a second Life? What Repose,
 ' What Rest could ever the Sons of Men have,
 ' if their Souls did remain in Heaven above with
 ' Sense, whilst their Shadows tarried beneath a-
 ' mong the infernal Spirits? Certainly these sweet
 ' Inducements and pleasing Persuasions, this foolish
 ' Credulity and easiness of Belief, destroyeth the
 ' Benefit of the best Gift of Nature, Death. It
 ' likewise doubleth the Pains of a Man that is to
 ' die, if he does but consider what is to become
 ' of him hereafter; how much more easy and
 ' greater Security were it, for each Man to ground
 ' his Reasons and Resolutions upon an assurance,
 ' that he should be in no worse a Condition than
 ' he was before he was born.

Now these (my Lord) with what others I have
 mentioned in my ANIMA MUNDI*: are the chief
 Opinions of the *Moralists* among the ancient Hea-
 thens.

* Or, An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the An-
 cients concerning Man's Soul after this Life, according to un-
 enlightened Nature. Printed Ann. 1679.

In answer to which, some of our Moderns argue, That if the Soul be not Immortal, the whole Universe would at this time be deceived, since all our Laws do now suppose it so. But to this it has been replied, That if the Whole be nothing but the Parts, (as must be allowed) then, since there is no Man who is not deceived, as *Plato* saith, it is so far from an Offence, that it is absolutely necessary to grant, either that the whole World is deceived, or at least the greater part of it; for supposing that there be but Three Laws, viz. That of *Moses*, That of *Christ*, and That of *Mahomet*; either all are false, and so the whole World is deceived; or only two of them, and so the greater part is deceived. But we must know, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* well observe, That a Politician is a Physician of Minds, and that his Aim is, rather to make Men good, than knowing; wherefore, according to the diversity of Men, he must render himself agreeable to the diversity of Humours, for the attainment of his End. Now there are some Men so ingenuous and good-natured, that they are induced to Virtue by the mere Excellency thereof, and withdraw themselves from Vice, purely for the sake of its own Deformity; and these are Men the best disposed, tho' rarely to be met with. Others, who are worse inclined, notwithstanding the Beauty of Virtue, and Turpitude of Vice, do still practice virtuous Things, and refrain from those that are vicious, merely out of Rewards, Praises, Honours, Punishments and Dispraises, whom we may enrol in the second Rank. Again, others, for hope of some Good, as well as for fear of corporal Punishment, are made virtuous: wherefore Politicians, that they may attain such Virtue, allure them with the hopes of Riches, Dignity and Command; at the same time, to prevent their committing Vice, they terrify them

16 *A P P E N D I X.*

with some Punishment either in Purse, Honour, or Body. But others out of a Savageness and Ferocity of Nature, are moved with none of these things, as daily Experience sheweth; wherefore for such, they have proposed to the Virtuous, Rewards in another Life; and to the Vicious, Punishments, which do most of all terrify: since the greater part of Man, if they do good, do it rather out of fear of eternal *Loss*, than hope of eternal *Gain*, forasmuch as we have a more sensible *Idea* of Suffering and Losses, than of *Elysium*, and the good Entertainment there. Now because this last Expedient may be profitable to all Men of what Condition soever, Lawgivers, considering the proneness of Men to Evil, and themselves aiming at the publick Good, established the Immortality of the Soul, perhaps, at first, not so much out of a regard to Truth as to Honesty, hoping thereby to induce Men to Virtue. Nor are Politicians to be so much blamed herein, more than Physicians, who many times, for the Benefit of their Patients, are compelled to feign and pretend divers things; since, in like manner, Politicians devise Fables only to regulate the People; notwithstanding, in these Fables, as AVERROES saith, (*Prolog. in iii. Phys.*) there is properly neither Truth nor Falshood. Thus Nurses bring their Children to those things which they know are good for them, after the like manner; whereas if the Man or the Child were either sound in Body, or Mind, neither would the Physician or the Nurse stand in need of such Contrivances. Likewise, if all Men were in that first Rank above mentioned, tho' we should admit the Mortality of the Soul, they would yet (perhaps) be virtuous and honest; but such are rare to be found, and therefore it is necessary to use other Expedients: neither is there any Absurdity herein, since almost

APPENDIX. 17

most all human Nature is immerfed in Matter, and partaketh but little of the Intellect; whence Man is more distant from Intelligences, than a sick Man from him that is sound, or a Fool from a wise Man; so that it is no wonder if a Politician makes use of such Ways or Means, for the publick Establishment of good Manners. And therefore, my LORD, besides the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, as also the innumerable other Arguments which may be deduced as well from Philosophy as Reason, to prove the Immortality of the Soul, together with its Rewards and Punishments, (tho' I determine not their Duration) yet there is no Argument of greater weight with me, than the absolute necessity and convenience that it should be so, as well to compleat the Justice of God, as to perfect the Happiness of Man, not only in this World, but in that which is to come. And for this very Reason, when I hear *Seneca* the Philosopher, and others, preaching up the Doctrine of the *Soul's Immortality*, with a

Quid mihi Cura erit Transfuga?

Tacked to the End of it, nothing under Heaven to me seems more unaccountable, or contradictory. For, as to suppose a hum-drum Deity chewing his own Nature, a droning God sit hugging of himself, and hoarding up his Providence from his Creatures, is an Atheism no less irrational, than to deny the very Essence of a Divine Being; so, in my Opinion, to believe an Immortality of the Soul, without its due Rewards and Punishments, is altogether as irrational and useless, as to believe the Soul to be mortal; by such a Faith we rob the Soul of its best Title to Immortality: for

b whag

18 A P P E N D I X.

what need is there of an Executor, where there are no Debts to pay, nor any Estate to inherit? But *Pomponatius*, and more especially, *Cardan* in his *Theonoston*, will furnish your LORDSHIP with great Variety upon this Subject, altho' I am sure you will meet with so noble an Entertainment no where, as in your own Thoughts.

Ludgate - Hill,
Feb. 7. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ 8.

(My LORD)

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

BLOUNT.



REMARKS

ON

Archæologiæ Philosophicæ.

WE think our selves obliged to introduce this ESSAY, by a very sincere Acknowledgment of that profound Respect which we pay to the Memory of the learned Dr. *Burnet*, a Gentleman no less distinguished by his Piety, than uncommon Penetration in the more curious Parts of Literature. If we may form a Judgment of his Temper from the Writings which he has left behind him, it was certainly very delicate and beneficent ; for thro' all his Composures there breathes a most generous Spirit of Humanity, and the most extensive Benevolence to Mankind.

Whatever Observations therefore are here made on his ARCHÆOLOGY, or any other of his Performances, they are none of them designed to detract in the least from the shining Reputation of this valuable Author, but are all calculated either to confirm and explain the Doctor's Notions, or else (when we apprehend he has left Room for a different Opinion) to present the Reader with such Arguments as may induce him to think freely for himself, and dissent even from the Opinions of this excellent Author.

It may be first proper to subjoin a few Particulars to the Account given of this great Man, and his Writings, by the Reverend Mr. *EARBERY*.

20 REMARKS, &c.

Archeologia Philosophica was published by Dr. BURNET in the Year 1692. In his Dedication to King WILLIAM, he styles himself his Chaplain, and his Majesty afterwards, thro' the Recommendation of Archbishop Tillotson, made him Clerk of the Closet.

We agree with Mr. EARBERRY, tho' with all due Deference to the Doctor's Judgment, that the *Second* Book of the ARCHÆOLOGY ought rather to have been the *First*, for which Reason we have changed the Disposition of them; and to make the Work more intelligible to an *English* Reader, the *Four* Chapters we now offer are the four *last* Chapters of the 2^d Book in the Original.

A Translation of this Book was some Years since suppressed by an *Injunction* in Chancery, but (as we have been informed) not for its *Doctrine*, but lest the Author's *Sentiments* should fall under a *Misrepresentation*.

Besides those Writings published by our Author himself, we have an Account of several Pieces which he left behind him. Francis Wilkinson, of *Lincoln's Inn*, Esq; his intimate Friend, in a Preface to the Treatise *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*, among other Things observes, that, "It was customary with Dr. BURNET, before he published any of his Works, for the greater Exactness, to have two or three Copies printed off, and to keep one of them interleaved for his own Use, that so he might have an Opportunity of making such Alterations as he thought proper."

Mr. WILKINSON is of Opinion, that he never designed to publish those Tracts *De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium*, or *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*; for he also notes, (in that Preface we just now mentioned) that the Dr. thought he had already divulged too many sacred Mysteries; and, as he

REMARKS, &c. 21

he himself occasionally exprest it to the *Editor*, had said more than was expedient.

The Treatise *De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium*, was purchased by an eminent Physician, to whom the learned World are obliged for a fine *Latin* Edition of that curious Work, as they are to a noble Lord for the other *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*. Mr. WILKINSON farther adds, that the Dr. left three Chapters more of that Book, viz. the Xth, XIth, and XIIth; the

Xth, Concerning the *Roman Catholick Religion*;

XIth, Concerning the *Roman Catholick Inquisition*;

XIIth, Concerning other Doctrines of the *Roman Catholick Church*, and her celebrated *Infallibility*.

He also left two Dialogues concerning the *Affairs* of the *Jews*, which, (says Mr. WILKINSON) “ were all fairly written by the Author’s own
“ Hand, and in my Opinion, they are not un-
“ worthy so great a Man. But because the Dr.
“ had put his *FINIS* at the IXth Chapter of
“ this Book, (he is speaking of the Tract *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*) “ as he would have it go
“ to the Press, I who am only to act as an *Editor*,
“ (says he) cannot proceed any farther without
“ Dishonour.”

Our Author treats in the next Place concerning the *Restoration* of the *Jews*, which is now published at the End of Mr. WILKINSON’s Edition of the Treatise *De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium*.

Mr. EARBERY in his Account of our Author and his Writings, is pleased to say,— * *I believe*

* See Mr. Earbery’s Translation of *The State of the Dead*, Vol. II. Page 130.

22 REMARKS, &c.

if his Preparations had come forth against the Papists, he would not have shaken the Vatican. I must beg Leave to differ here from this Gentleman, since the Arguments against the Papists which we meet with in His Works already published are exceeding nervous, and if they have not *shaken the Vatican*, have yet overturned the pretended *Chair of St. Peter*.

To return now to the Work before us, the Dr. speaking concerning PARADISE, says, *that he will not pronounce any Thing positively concerning the Place, or Region where it was situated**; but it is easy to observe from several Passages in his Writings, that he looked upon the *Mosaical* Description of it to be *Parabolical*, together with the Account of all those Occurrences which passed in that remarkable Place †.

On the contrary, it is the general Opinion of Divines, that the Account of *Paradise* is not *figurative* but *real*, since it is given us with all those Circumstances which usually accompany true History. Besides we have a particular Description of the Rivers that surrounded it, and the Trees which adorned it.

We grant that MOSES in his *History* of the *Creation*, did in some Instances comply with the low Capacities of his People, and delivered himself rather according to vulgar Apprehensions, than Physical Truths, and the real State of the Case; as particularly when he represents the *Moon* as a greater Light, and superior to the *Stars*; but yet one would be apt to imagine, that the sacred Penman designed to be understood literally, when he gave us an Account of the first and solemn Transactions between

* Sed de Regione aut Loco Paradisi, nihil a nobis definiendum est, *Græc.* Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, Cap. VII. Pag. 375.

† Præterea sunt quædam Narrationes quibus veritas subest, non autem singulis Apicibus sed quoad summam Rei & Propositum Authoris. Idem Pag. 386.

REMARKS, &c. 23

God and Man, on which depended the Fate of all his Posterity; and I cannot but think that the Flowers of Paradise were real and not painted, and, that all the Charms of that delicious Scene, were truly such as became an infinitely powerful and beneficent BEING to prepare for the Entertainment of his new and beloved *Favourite*.

It were endless to enumerate the Variety of Opinions among Philosophers and Divines concerning *Paradise*. * If we take this Name of *Paradise* generally, it signifies a Place of Delight, and perhaps it may not be amiss before we treat of it in a Theological Manner, to consider, a little, some beautiful Descriptions which we meet with, in Heathen Authors, of Gardens of Pleasure, all which seem to have taken their Original from the sacred History of the *Garden* of EDEN.

The Poetical Descriptions of the *Golden Age*, were undoubtedly drawn from hence, when the *Spring* (as they tell us) was *perpetual*, and the Earth produced all Sorts of Corn and Fruit, without Care or Labour. This State is very finely delineated by OVID, in the first Book of his *Metamorphoses*. And Dr. BURNET himself † has observed, that their Notions of the *Elysian Fields* were formed after the Model of our *Paradise*, or their *Golden Age*. The *English* Reader will meet with all the Instances brought in that Chapter by our Author, in the Course of our present Undertaking; in the mean Time, two or three curious Examples which the Doctor there produces, will probably be grateful, and like the Taste of some early Fruit, give

* See Poole's Synopsis Criticorum, and Dr. Wells's Sacred Geography.

† Archæologiz Philosophicæ, Book II. Chap. 6.

24 REMARKS, &c.

him Pleasure before he can fully partake of the Delights of the Vineyard.

HOMER thus describes his *Elysium* *.

The Gods will send Thee to th' *Elysian* Fields,
And utmost Bounds of Earth, where *Rhadamanthus*
Serenely smiles, with ever golden Tresses.
There Men enjoy a sweet and blessed Life,
No wintry Storms can stain their blooming Joys,
The peaceful Ocean sends perpetual Zephyrs,
To bless th' Inhabitants with tuneful Murmurs.

VIRGIL, after the like Manner, describes the *Elysian Shades* †.

*Devenere Locos letos & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum Nemorum, sedesque beatas.
Largior hic Campos Æther & Lumine vestit
Purpureo : Solemque suam, sua Sydera norunt.*

* Ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιοι πεδίοι, ἐ πύματα γῶης,
Ἀθνίοιτοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι· ξάνθος Ῥαδαμανθός
Τῇ περ ρῆστη βιότῃ πάλαι ἀνθρώποισιν
Οὐ εἴφετος οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος
† Ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἑσφύροιο λιγυπνέοντας αἴητας
Θαιεὶος ἀνίστην ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

† Encid VI.

They

————— They took their Way,
Where long extended Plains of Pleasure lay.
The verdant Fields with those of Heaven may vye;
With *Æther* vested, and a purple Sky:
The blissful Seats of happy Souls below:
Stars of their own, and their own *Suns* they know.
DRYDEN.

PLUTARCH speaking of the *Fortunate Islands**, (the same in Reality with *Elysium*, under a newer Name) says they have moderate Showers, tho' they fall but seldom: And, for the most Part, they have soft and dewy Winds, whence the Region becomes exceeding fruitful, and freely yields its Plants and delicious Fruits to the Inhabitants, without any Labours of Husbandry. The Air which surrounds these Islands is so temperate, that the People who dwell in them never can receive any Inconvenience from it.

There is a famous Passage of DIODORUS SICULUS, which ought not to be passed by. Where, under the Name of the *Toprabanian* Island, he has given us a most lively Draught of the Earthly *Paradise* or *Elysian* Fields.

The Inhabitants (says he) who live under the *Æquinoctial*, enjoy the best Temperature of Air, and are neither troubled with Heat nor Cold. All Sorts of Fruit hang ripe on the Trees throughout the Year. The Days and Nights are there perpetually equal, and so rich is the Soil that it brings forth spontaneously. The Inhabitants usually pro-

* In Vit. Sertor. Pag. 571, 572.

26 REMARKS, &c.

long their Lives without any Distempers, to the Term of an hundred and fifty Years. Thus far our Author.

PROCOPIUS speaks of a *Paradise* in a certain Part of *Africa*. There was (says he) a King of the *Vandals*, who built a Royal Palace in the most delightful *Paradise*, for many delicious Fountains bedewed and watered it, and the Woods around it were continually green, fragrant, and flourishing, refreshed with sweet Gales and temperate Air.

PLATO * writes, that there is a Place on the Earth so high above the Clouds, that they cannot rain upon it, nor is any immoderate Heat felt there, tho' it be near the Region of Fire, but there is always a Temperature of Air most pure and perfect; so that all Things grow there in greater Abundance than in any other Part of the Earth, and the Men are of purer Complexion and longer Life than we; neither do they feed on such Fruits as we do here, but always enjoy a perfect Freshness of Youth.

But most remarkable is the Description of *Paradise* by *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Treatise of the *Phoenix*, discoursing of that Country, whither she took her Flight after she had burned her self in *Arabia*, and revived again. His Words are these, There is in the farthest Part of the East a blessed Place, where the high Gate of the eternal Pole is open, it is neither annoyed with the Heat of the Sun, nor the Cold of the Winter, but there, from whence the Sun sends us the Beauties of the Day, are neither Mountains nor Vallies: The Fields are all level in a great and pleasant Plain, which yet is much higher than the tallest Mountain of ours. There is a flourishing Wood adorned with many

* PHÆDON.

beautiful Trees, whose Branches enjoy a perpetual Verdure; and even when PHAETON, by his Rashness, burnt the World, this Place was not touched by the Flame: And it remained entire and unhurt when *Deucalion's* Flood overwhelmed the World, for the Waters could not reach it by Reason of the Height thereof. There is neither languishing Disease, painful old Age, nor consuming Death, no Fear, no Grief, no greedy Desires of Riches or Revenge, disturb their Repose, no frozen Dew touches their Earth, no misty Cloud covers their Fields; in the midst of this Wood there is a Fountain of translucent and sweet Waters, which once a Month refreshes the whole Place. The Trees therein are of a wonderful Height, and always hang full of Fruit.

But leaving these Philosophical *Paradises*, which are too fictitious to merit our Regard and Belief, let us examine a little what grave Authors and Divines have wrote on this Subject. St. JOHN DAMASCENE * discoursing concerning *Paradise* has these Words. God having created Man in his own Image, and appointed him as Ruler of the whole Earth, prepared for him a sumptuous and Royal Place, where he might lead a happy and glorious Life; and this is that divine *Paradise* planted by his own omnipotent Hands in *Eden*, full of Pleasure and Delight: For he placed him in the *East*, in the highest and most magnificent Place of all the Earth, where there is a perfect Temperature, a pure and delicate Air, and the Plants are continually green and fragrant; it is always replenished with delicious Perfumes, with a Light most clear, and a Beauty above Man's Understanding: In a Word, it was a Place only fit for the Habitation of him

* Book II. Chap. 2.

28 REMARKS, &c.

who was created in the Image of God himself.

The Reader may observe, that this last Description is not much different from some of the former. And venerable BEDE treating of this Matter says, the Earthly *Paradise* is a Place most delightful, beautified with Abundance of fruitful Trees, and refreshed with a goodly Fountain. The Situation of it is in the oriental Parts, the Ground of which is so high, that the Waters of the Flood could not reach it.

STRABO affirms, that the Height of the Earth where *Paradise* is, reaches to the Circle of the Moon, for which Reason it received no Injury from the Flood.

St. CHRYSOSTOM says, before the Flood Men knew where *Paradise* was, but after the Deluge they lost the Knowledge of it. And indeed we need not wonder, that *Paradise* cannot now be found by *Moses's* Description of its surrounding Rivers, since we cannot but reasonably suppose, that such a Flood as was sent to drown the whole World, must make a great Alteration in the Earth, raising the Vallies, and sinking the Mountains, (unless we suppose with Dr. Burnet, and divers other very considerable Men) that it was all plain and level before the Flood. For we see oftentimes in the overflowing of great Rivers, that whole Countries have been made like a Sea, and sometimes the largest Rivers have changed their Course. If therefore the Impetuosity of one River can work such wonderful Effects, what shall we think of the raging Fury of the universal Flood?

I believe therefore, if we consider all Circumstances, we shall see Reason to believe, that *Moses's* Description of *Paradise* is to be taken in a strict and literal Sense; nor can I imagine what Absurdities will

will flow from it; what Delight is more innocent and refreshing, than that which may be met with in the Sweets and Beauties of a Garden? And what can be more probable than that God should introduce his new made Creature and Favourite into such a lovely Scene of overflowing Pleasures?

Dr. BURNET seems to think it strange, that God should for so small a Crime, as the eating of a little Fruit, pronounce so severe a Sentence on Mankind*: But we are to consider the sovereign Authority which a Creator has over the Work of his Hands, and also the Gratitude which is undoubtedly due to an infinite and indulgent Benefactor.

Our Author takes Notice of many Difficulties, which, in his Opinion, will unavoidably perplex us, if we adhere to the literal Interpretation of the History of the Fall of Man, as we meet with it in the Book of *Genesis*. He makes particular Exceptions against the DIALOGUE of EVE with the Serpent, and gives us this Representation of it. God, upon Pain of Death, prohibits *Adam* and *Eve* from tasting the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge: But it happened, upon a Time, that *Eve* sitting solitary under this Tree, without her Husband, there came to her a *Serpent* or *Adder*; which, tho' I know not by what Means or Power, civilly accosted the *Woman*, (if we may judge of the Thing by the Event) in these Words, or to this Purpose,

SERPENT, *All hail most fair one, &c.*

I shall not here transcribe this *Dialogue*, since the Reader may turn back and find it at full length

* Id utique videtur gravissimum & asperissimum in hac Narratione quod gentem humanam plexisse, imo perdidisse dicatur dens, ob rem exiguam & feminilis ingenii levitate perpetratum.

30 REMARKS, &c.

in the 5th Page of this Translation: Yet, I cannot but observe, that the celebrated MILTON gives us in his *Paradise lost* a *Dialogue* between EVE and the SERPENT; which seems more probable, as well as agreeable to the *Mosaic* History, at the same Time that it is embellished with all the Beauties of sacred Poesy: it would be tedious to insert it here, as containing many Pages, but a Specimen of it may not be amiss. The *Serpent* is introduced thus addressing *Eve*.

Wonder not sovereign Mistress! if perhaps
 Thou canst who art sole Wonder; much less arm
 Thy Looks the Heaven of Mildness with Disdain.
 Displeas'd that I approach Thee thus, and gaze
 Insatiate; I thus single nor have fear'd
 Thy awful Brow, more awful thus retir'd,
 Fairest Resemblance of thy Maker fair;
 Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
 By Gift, and thy cœlestial Beauty adore,
 With Ravishment beheld! there best beheld
 Where universally admired. But here
 In this Inclosure wild, these Beasts among
 (Beholders rude and shallow to discern
 Half what in Thee is fair) One Man except
 Who sees thee? and what is One! who should'st
 be seen
 Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd
 By Angels numberless thy daily Train.

The

The Answer of EVE is very Natural—

What may this mean, Language of Man, pronounc'd
By Tongue of Brute, and human Sense exprest?
The first, at least, of these, I thought deny'd
To Beasts whom God at their Creation Day
Created Mute to all articular Sound.

The latter I demur; for in their Looks
Much Reason, and in their Actions oft appears
Thee Serpent, subtil'st Beast of all the Field
I knew, but not with human Voice indu'd,
Redouble then this Miracle and say
How cam'st thou speakable of Mute; and how
To me so friendly grown above the Rest
Of brutal Kind that daily are in Sight?
Say, for such Wonder claims Attention due.

I shall refer the Reader to the ninth Book of *Paradise Lost*, whence these Lines are taken, where he may find this *Dialogue* agreeably drawn out and finished.

The Doctor seems to wonder how the *Serpent* should be able to speak to the *Woman*. The Reader upon serious Reflection, will, I doubt not, conclude that it was an evil and malignant *Spirit*, who made use of the *Serpent* to accomplish his accursed Intentions. The Doctor farther objects, that there is no Mention made of such a *Spirit*, in the *Mosaical-Account* of the *Fall of Man*. But
we

32 REMARKS, &c.

we need not wonder at that, since the Serpent was the only Agent who appeared in that vile and detestable Stratagem, and the Doctor himself lays it down for a Rule, (and a very good one it is) that the Scriptures sometimes speak according to Appearance, and not Reality, as when the Sun is said to have stood still, &c. Now as the *Serpent* only appeared to tempt EVE, she is said to have been deceived by him, tho' the Devil was the real Contriver of her lamentable Fall.

If we impartially weigh this Matter, we shall not be apt to reflect on the divine Goodness for that Restraint, which was laid on our first Parents; we can never think it hard that they should *be forbidden to eat* of the Fruit of one particular Tree, who had such a large and indulgent Permission, to make free with every other Production of that fertile and delightful Garden.

It is undeniable, that Sin and Misery have stained the Beauty of this lower Creation, and the nobler Part of Man is continually subject to be molested by inferior Appetites, and degenerate Passions.

The *Heathen Philosophers* were very busy in their Enquiries after the Cause of this unhappy Bondage, for they were all sensible that there must have been some great Change in Man, since he came out of the Hands of his Creator. But after all their most inquisitive Searches, they could meet with no satisfactory Account of the Origin of this universal Malady, but were forced to sit down in Darkness and Uncertainty.

Now MOSES has given us a particular Account of the Spring of this unhappy Degeneracy, and the Cause of such woful Alteration. And since it is the most reasonable that has yet been produced, we ought, doubtless, to rest contented with it, and receive it with Faith and Gratitude.

And

And tho' the *Fall* of *Man* was really deplorable, yet thro' the infinite Mercy of God, it became an Occasion for the divine Goodness, to exert it self in a very surprising Manner, and Man was wonderfully restored to the Hopes of a more exalted Felicity, than that which he had so rashly forfeited.

Surely we can never sufficiently admire the ineffable Compassion of our great Creator, who has thus enabled us to regain *Paradise*, but has likewise enriched it with new Delights and brighter Entertainments.

The Doctor wonders *, that some *Guardian Angel* did not appear to succour *Eve* in the Hour of Temptation, and shield her from the fatal Effects of the *Serpent's* Subtilty, and her own Ignorance and Imbecility.

We have all the Reason in the World to believe, that Almighty God endued our first Parents with Knowledge and Strength sufficient to overcome the Temptations of the Devil, and favoured them with the Ministry of good Angels at proper Times, and suitable Occasions.

But had Angels immediately interposed in the important and critical Minute, had Cherubims with flaming Swords stood between *Eve* and the fatal Fruit, and strictly guarded it, as afterwards they did the Gates of *Paradise*, where had any Room been left for her to manifest her Obedience, her Love or her Gratitude?

Our Author expresses some Surprise, that Heaven, Earth, and all Nature, should feel the sad Effects of *Adam's* Transgression; but as we observed in another Place, no Man can rightly conceive what dismal Effects will naturally attend

* Quod si hoc totum ab Inscitia & Imbecillitate Mulieris provenisse dixeris, æquum utique fuisset ignoræ & imbecilli famina succurrisse ex altera Parte bonos Angelos.

34 REMARKS, &c.

such a wilful Provocation of an infinite Majesty ; and besides when the Lord of this lower Creation received so shameful an Overthrow, the inferior Parts of Nature might well mourn by Sympathy, and put on all the Marks of Sorrow and Dejection.

The Doctor gives a Hint as if he thought that this Threatning *in the Day that ye eat thereof ye shall surely die*, could not answer any valuable Purpose *, or be sufficient to deter our first Parents, particularly *Eve*, from transgressing the divine Command. To die ! what is that, might the inexperienced Woman say, who had never seen any Thing dead, no not so much as a Flower, nor had ever seen Sleep, which is the Image of Death, nor Night, nor as yet had formed any Ideas of them.

But with all due Respect to the superior Genius of so great a Man, I must say, that I cannot well imagine, how Man could be created in the Image of God, and indued with such Perfections as we find he was, and yet be ignorant to such a Degree as the Doctor represents him. Had he Wisdom enough to give a Name to every Animal, a Name which was most suitable to its Nature, and can we imagine that he could form no adequate Idea of Death, which was the Punishment threatned to his Disobedience, or of Sleep, into which in a few Hours he was to enter !

I own the Doctor particularly instances in *EVE*, but neither had *ADAM* as yet seen any Thing dead, no not so much as a Flower, &c. and yet we cannot think it had been consistent with the divine Wisdom, to pronounce a Threatning against him,

* *Mori! Quid hoc Rei est, inquit ignara Virgo quæ nihil unquam mortuum viderat, ne florem quidem; neque mortis imaginem, somnum vel noctem oculis vel animo adhuc senserat.*

had he been ignorant of the Nature of it; and the Argument will hold good as to the *Case* of *Eve*.

I apprehend that the Doctor raises some needless Scruples as to the *Cherubims*, which stood before the Gates of *Paradise* with flaming Swords, to prevent the Return of our first Parents; he imagines it had been much properer to have surrounded *Paradise* with a River, because as *Adam* and *Eve* were entirely ignorant of the Use of Boats or Ships, that Method had been as sufficient to have prevented their Entrance as a Guard of Angels.

But I wonder he did not consider that (our first Parents having so greatly offended the divine Majesty) Reason it self will inform us, that a solemn Declaration of his Resentment was most agreeable to the Nature of their Transgression.

Had he surrounded *Paradise* (of which their Behaviour had rendered them very unworthy) with a thousand Rivers, it could not have struck them with such an awful Fear, it could not so effectually have driven them far from *Paradise*.

He next raises a Question concerning the Punishment of the *Serpent*, and enquires why that Creature should suffer for a Crime which was committed by the Devil?

But may we not recollect that it is usual to look with Aversion on the Instruments by which great Mischiefs are performed? and do not Men behold with Horror, even the very Sword which has been abused by a Murderer?

The Doctor objects against the Angels cloathing our first Parents with Skins, but perhaps upon a second Thought, we may come to look upon it as a beneficent Action, and not unworthy of those shining and exalted Spirits.

As to his mentioning the short Time in which all these important Affairs were transacted, if I

36 REMARKS, &c.

might be allowed freely to speak, I apprehend that many of our Expositors are too hasty in their Determinations concerning this Matter. For it is really very strange to imagine, that so many and great Occurrences should happen in the short Space of one Day, nor do the Scriptures (as far as I can find) any where affirm it.

I am therefore of the Doctor's Opinion, that it is impossible such solemn and weighty Transactions should all be finished in so short a Time; and farther cannot but admire how admirably he closes this Chapter, with what an excellent Air of Humanity, as well as a most charming Spirit of Christian Love, Sincerity and Condescension, he shuts up his Discourse on these Heads! *See Page 26.*

What a noble Example has the Doctor here set to all learned Men, and particularly Divines, and happy indeed would it be for the Christian World, if such a shining Pattern were closely followed.

The learned CURCELLÆUS, in all his Treatises, shews the same excellent Temper, he always writes with Coolness and Charity.

The admirable CHILLINGWORTH, who has so nobly and successfully defended the Protestant Cause, has distinguished himself as much by the Moderation of his Temper, as the Keeness of his Arguments; and his generous Professions of Charity and brotherly Love to all Christians, appear with a very beautiful Lustre, in divers Parts of his immortal Work, entituled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation.*

The incomparable Archbishop Tillotson, more celebrated for his unaffected Piety and sacred Eloquence, than the Grandeur of his exalted Station, was no less remarkable for his pacifick Temper, and amiable Condescension to the meanest of his Brethren. Yet all that charming Tenderness and
soft

soft Address which adorned his Composures, and made his Conversation delightful, could not secure him from the angry Attacks of passionate Writers: Dr. *Hickes* out of his singular Humanity was pleased to say, that he was *one of the gravest Atheists in the World*; and Dr. SOUTH, (learned as he was) yet often causelessly attempted to lash with his satyrical Wit, a Man much greater than himself.

Mr. LOCKE has given the World sufficient Proofs of his candid and charitable Disposition, yet neither has he (any more than *Tillotson* or *Chillingworth*) escaped the Virulence of unguarded Tongues, but has been censured as a *Socinian*, has been represented as a *Deist*.

I shall only add under this Head, that these excellent Persons just now mentioned, and others of a like charitable Temper, were also remarkable for a noble Freedom of Thought, so far as was consistent with that Veneration which they always paid to the Holy Scriptures.

We have now finished our Remarks on the first Chapter, and must defer the Consideration of the other three till a more convenient Opportunity, contenting our selves in the mean while with the few following Particulars.

The Doctor observes, that it was the Opinion of the *Ancient Fathers*, that the Angels existed long before this visible World, and I presume that no Man who is conversant in their Writings will offer to deny it. And as our Author observes it is also agreeable to Reason, for it being granted that the Angels fell before the Foundations of our World were laid, how can any one imagine, that such noble Creatures should be so weak as to sink in such

38 REMARKS, &c.

a mighty Ruine immediately after their Creation.

The sacred Scriptures seem likewise to confirm it, as particularly those Passages * brought by our Author, *Where wast thou when I laid the Foundations of the Earth? declare, if thou hast Understanding.—When the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy.*

It may here deserve a Remark, that since the Doctor is so fully persuaded of the Fall of the Angels before the Creation of the World, it seems somewhat strange that he should be scrupulous † about admitting that an evil Spirit, who was one of these fallen Angels, made Use of a *Serpent* to deceive our first Parents, with an accursed Design of ruining thereby the whole Race of Mankind

For it is naturally enough to imagine, that when such exalted and glorious Spirits had met with such a shameful Defeat, and melancholy Change, they would be filled with Regret, Vexation and Envy.

As they knew by woful Experience, that the Throne and Dignity of their Creator was infinitely above the utmost Efforts of their Malice, what Essay can we think they would more probably make than to stain the bright Characters of the divine Image impress'd on *Adam*, and sully the blooming Beauties of the new Creation?

I believe every Reader will immediately discern the Beauty of that Observation, which our Author makes on the Design of *Moses*, to draw the People from Idolatry, by the Representation which he gives of the heavenly Bodies; whether it will fully answer the End for which he brings it is a Question, yet it lets us into a noble Field of Thoughts,

* Job xxxviii. 4---7.

† Aiunt nempe sub hoc Serpente latuisse Diabolum, qui hujus Animalis ore & organis usus affatus est Fæminam voce quasi humana; sed quo Teste quo Authore hoc dicitur? &c.

and gives a solid Pleasure to the Judgment, at the same time that it delights the Imagination.

Our Author in this last Book puts this Case ; suppose a Man were now to discharge the Office of an Apostle among the *Indians*, or other foreign Infidels, would he not as often as he had Occasion to speak concerning the Heavens, Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, make Use of the popular Style and Opinion received among those Nations, about the Circuit of the Sun, and the Motions of the Heavens, the Light and Magnitude of the Planets, the Stability of the Earth, &c. altho' he was firmly persuaded that these Opinions were contrary to the Reasons and Calculations of Astronomers and Philosophers ?

We may grant the Doctor the Reasonableness of such a Method, yet if a Person were now to preach the Gospel among the Heathens, it would doubtless be a Reflection on his Integrity, should he give his Auditors a fictitious Account of the Transactions between the Creator and the first Man ; he might indeed well enough comply with their imperfect Notions of the heavenly Bodies ; but I should think he ought never to depart from Truth, in his Account of so great a Solemnity as the melancholy *Revolution* that happened in the *Garden of Eden*.

And tho' our Author has freely declared, that he looks upon the *Mosaical* Account of this Affair to be *allegorical*, yet no Man of Candor or Consideration can well be displeased with him, if he considers what he has said in the Close of his *first LETTER* to a *Friend*, concerning his *Archæologia Philosophica* †.

“ In

† Interea quod ad me attinet— Si quid acrius aut asperius dictum est, quod Piis & Sapientibus offendiculo esse possit ; id totum quicquid est, indictum volo. Et colloquium illud inter
Evam

40 *REMARKS, &c.*

“ In the mean Time, for my own Part, *says he,*
 “ if I have expressed my self either in so crude or sharp
 “ a Manner, as to offend the wise and pious, I am
 “ willing that all such Passages should be looked
 “ upon as retracted; and I can, without any Pain,
 “ suffer the *Dialogue* between *Eve* and the *Serpent*,
 “ which I hear has been displeasing to some, or
 “ any Thing else of a like Nature, to be cut off
 “ from the Work. As to the *Holy Scripture* in
 “ general, whether *literal* or *mystical*, we profess
 “ and believe that it was given us from Heaven as
 “ a *Rule of Faith*, the *Guide* of our *Life*, and the
 “ *Means* of our *Salvation*, and yield it all Honour,
 “ Reverence and Veneration.”

Evam & Serpentem, quod nonnullis displicere audio; vel siquid sit præterea cognatæ indolis, amputari & abscindi sine dolore, patiar. — Quoad Scripturam sacram in genere sive Literalem sive Mysticam, hanc cœlitus nobis datam tanquam Fidei regulam vitæ ducem, & salutis asyllum profiteamur; omnique honore reverentia & veneratione prosequimur. Ep. 1. de *Archai. Philos.*

F I N I S.



REMARKS

ON THE

SECOND CHAPTER,

Relating to the

Mosaic CREATION.

THE Doctor here discourses concerning the Origin of Things as they are expounded in the first Chapter of *Genesis*; together with the manner of interpreting *Moses's Hexaemeron*, that is, his Account of the Creation performed in six Days: And he observes that the Original of Things inanimate, and the Universe, as *Moses* describes it in *Genesis* i. seems contrary to the *Theory* of the *Earth*; because it supposes the *Earth* to be the *Center*, and that the *Sun*, with the rest of the *Heavenly Bodies*, were created merely for the Use of the *Earth*. It is evident therefore, says our Author, that *Moses* has followed the popular System; and in so doing he rightly consulted the Public Safety.

d

This

42 REMARKS, &c.

This Assertion of our Author has occasioned many Speculations, and been the Spring of variety of Disquisitions among learned Men. Mr. *Whiston* has opened his *new Theory* of the *Earth* (a Work adorned with uncommon Learning and beautiful Arguments) with proper Observations on this Head: We shall here take a short View of them, for the Benefit of those Readers, who, perhaps, may not have read that admirable Discourse; as also that we may have an Opportunity of comparing them with the Sentiments of other valuable Writers, and that from the Consideration of all, Truth may appear in the most agreeable Light, and display its native Beauty.

Men have (says our new *Theorist*) run into Perplexities and Contrarieties with Relation to the Description of the *Creation* of the *World*, which we meet with in the Book of *Genesis*; while some have adhered to the common and vulgar, tho' less rational Exposition; without any Consideration of Nature, Reason, or Philosophy, or just Decorum in the several Parts of it: And others on the contrary have been so sensible of the Wildness and Unreasonableness of That, that they have ventured to exclude it from any just Sense at all; asserting it to be a mere popular Parabolical or Mythological Relation; in which the plain Letter is no more to be accounted for, or believed, than the fabulous Representations of *Æsop*, or at best than the mystical Parables of our Saviour. Of what mischievous Consequence this latter is commonly esteemed, I need not say; a late * excellent Author, who thought it absolutely necessary to be introduced, having felt Reflections sufficiently severe, and seen Effects sufficiently mischievous of such an Interpretation:

* Dr. *Burnet*.

And how unworthy of God, how incoherent and absurd the former Exposition is in itself, and must be esteemed by free and inquisitive Thinkers, it is not difficult to make appear to any impartial Man. Indeed I cannot but imagine that as those who plead for the Mythological Sense, do it only because they suppose it impossible to give a commodious and rational Scheme of it on any other Hypothesis; and therefore will readily embrace any more literal Interpretation which shall agree to the Divine Attributes, the Reason of their own Minds, and the true System of the World: So I think those, who notwithstanding its apparent Incongruities adhere to the vulgar Exposition, will have great Reason to encourage and rest satisfied in such an Account, as shall at once keep sufficiently close to the Letter of *Moses*, and yet be far from allowing what contradicts the Divine Wisdom, common Reason, or philosophic Deductions. But since the principal Difficulty is like to arise from the Prejudices and Prepossessions of the Letter, and from the common Notions already fixt in the Minds of most Men, relating to this *Mosaic* Creation, I shall in this Place chiefly have a Respect to them, and endeavour to evince, that the Notions they have entertained, of the Nature, Style and Extent of the Creation of the World in six Days, are false, precarious, and no less contrary to the Holy Scriptures themselves, than to sound Reason and true Philosophy. I assert therefore, “ That the *Mosaic* Creation is not a nice and philosophical Account of “ the Origin of all Things; but an historical and “ true Representation of the Formation of our “ single Earth, out of a confused Chaos, and of “ the successive and visible Change thereof each “ Day, till it became the Habitation of Mankind. For the very first Words of *Moses* plainly imply,

44 REMARKS, &c.

that the Production of all the World out of Nothing, which we usually stile Creation, was prece-
daneous to the six Days work given an Account
of in the same Chapter *. *In the Beginning God
created the Heaven and the Earth*, says the *Scripture* ;
which is, as I take it, a Preface or Introduction to
the following Account, and may be thus paraphrased :
“ Altho’ that History of the Origin of the
“ World, which shall now be given you, do not
“ extend any farther, as will appear presently, than
“ that Earth we live upon, with those Bodies
“ which peculiarly belong to it ; and so the rest of
“ the Universe be not at all directly concerned
“ therein ; and altho’ this same History will not
“ reach to the Creation of the Matter, but only
“ Production of the Form, and Disposition of the
“ Earth itself : Yet to prevent any misunderstand-
“ ing, and obviate any ill Effects of perfect Si-
“ lence touching these Things, I am obliged by
“ the Divine Command, to assure you that the
“ Original of all Beings whatsoever, was primarily
“ owing to that same God of *Israel*, whose Works I
“ am going to relate ; and that not only this Earth,
“ with all its Bodies, but the vast Frame of uni-
“ versal Nature, was by him at first created out of
“ Nothing, and disposed into those several Systems
“ which now are extant, and make up what in the
“ largest Sense, is stiled Heaven and Earth or the
“ whole World.”

This Sense of the Words is allowed by our late
excellent Commentator Bishop *Parrick*, whose Sen-
timents cannot but be justly valued by all who are
conversant in his Expositions of the Holy Scrip-
tures ; and is I think not a little confirmed by the
following Words ; † *And the Earth was without*

* *Gen. i. 1.*

† *Gen. i. 2.*

Form and void, and Darkneſs was upon the Face of the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved on the Face of the Waters. Where it is clear that as ſoon as the Holy Writer deſcends to the Deſcription of the Chaos, and the commencing of the ſix Days Creation, he mentions not a Word of any Productions out of Nothing (before ſuppoſed and aſſerted to have been paſt and done in *the Beginning of Things*.) He omits, and thereby ſeems to exclude, that Heaven, or thoſe ſuperior Systems of the World already ſpoken of, from any Place therein. And by the whole Coherence appears to confine the Narration following to the Earth alone, with its Dependencies. *Mofes* does not ſay, as the common Expoſitors do, “ That
 “ juſt at the commencing of the ſix Days work,
 “ the Earth and all the reſt of the World was ori-
 “ ginally produced; but that when God had for-
 “ merly created all the World, which is uſually
 “ diſtinguiſhed into the Heaven and the Earth, the
 “ latter of theſe (the Conſideration whereof alone
 “ was pertinent to the preſent Deſign) at the Time
 “ preceding the ſix Days Work, was in a wild, irre-
 “ gular and dark Condition; or ſuch a perfect
 “ Chaos as nothing but the Power of God, and his
 “ Spirit’s moving on, and influencing the ſame,
 “ could ever have reduced into a habitable World.”

This is a very eaſy and natural Account, and I think (ſays Mr. *Whiſton*) (I.) The moſt obvious and genuine Signification of the Words themſelves. And were not Men’s Minds too much prejudiced with other Apprehenſions this alone might be ſufficient to limit their Thoughts, and prevent their Enquiries after any Creation of Bodies out of Nothing in the ſix Days Work; and their ſtretching the ſame beyond the Earth, either to the whole System of Things, as moſt do; or indeed to the Solar System, with which others, are more mo-

46 REMARKS, &c.

deftly contented in the Cafe. To proceed therefore, the above mentioned Author affirms.

(II.) That the Words here used, of creating, making, or framing of Things, on which the main Stress is laid, in the Style of *Scripture*, are frequently of no larger Importance, than the Proposition which he lays down does allow, and signify no more, than the ordering, disposing, changing, or new modelling those Creatures which existed already, into a different, and sometimes, perhaps, a better and more useful State than they were in before. This Signification of the two latter Words, will (doubtless) be granted by all; and that the same is as true of the other Word create, the following Texts will sufficiently evince; and from the promiscuous use of them all, and others of a like Importance, might however be fairly supposed. *If, says Moses*, the Lord make a new Thing, or create a Creature, and the Earth open her Mouth and swallow them up.* Where none can imagine any thing produced out of Nothing; but only such an unusual and miraculous Disposal of Things as would at once demonstrate God's Vengeance against the Wicked, and his absolute Command over all Creatures. Thus God himself says, *† I form the Light and create Darkness; I make Peace and create Evil; I the Lord do all these Things:* Where the Objects of the Divine Creation, being not real and substantial Beings, could not be capable of a proper Production out of Nothing.

(III.) Those synonymous Phrases, the World, or the Heavens, and the Earth, under which the Object of the six Days Creation is comprehended every where in *Scripture*, do not always denote the whole System of Beings; nor any great and general Portion of them; but are in the sacred

* *Numb.* xvi. 30.

† *I/a.* xiv. 7.

Style frequently to be restrained to the terraqueous Globe, with its dependencies.

(IV.) It appears that the History before us extends not beyond the Earth and its Appendages, because that confused Mass or rude Heap of heterogeneous Matter, which we call the Chaos, whence all the several Parts were derived, extended no farther; as the following Arguments seem sufficiently to demonstrate. (1.) If we appeal to external Nature, and enquire what confused Masses or Chaos's, either at present are, or ever within the Annals of Time were extant in the visible World, we shall discover no Footsteps of any such thing, excepting what the Atmosphere of a Comet affords us. (2.) The Chaos mentioned by *Moses*, is by him expressly called the Earth, in Contra-distinction to the Heavens, or the other Systems of the Universe; and all its Parts taken Notice of in the sacred History, appear, by the following Series of the Scripture, to belong to our Earth and no other. (3.) The *Mosaic* and ancient Chaos could not include the Sun or fixt Stars, because just before the Extraction of Light from it, as it is usually explained, it was dark and caliginous; which on such a Supposition is not conceivable. A strange Darkness this! when more than ninety nine Parts of an Hundred (whether we take in the entire System of the World, or the Solar System only) appear to be fiery Corpuscles, and the very same from whence all the fixt Stars, or at least the Sun were constituted. Let every unbiassed Person judge how dark that Chaos could be, where the opaque and obscure Parts were so perfectly inconsiderable, in Comparison of the *light*, the *active* and the *fiery* ones. (4.) The now undoubted Property of the universal Gravitation of Matter, contradicts and overthrows this Fancy of the heavenly Bodies, having

been originally included in, and at the Creation extracted from, the Chaos of which we are speaking. (5.) This Notion, that the *heavenly* Bodies proceeded originally from the *Terrestrial Chaos*, and cast themselves off from it, every way supposes the Earth to be the Center of the World, or of all that System of Bodies, and they placed in a kind of Circumference every way about it. How well soever such a Notion would agree with the Vulgar or *Ptolemaic* System of the World, yet the *Pythagorean*, which has forced its Reception, and is universally received by Astronomers, will not square therewith.

(V.) The *Mosaic* Creation is confined to our Earth with its Appurtenances; because otherwise the Time of the Creation of each Body was so extremely disproportionate to the Work itself, as is perfectly irreconcilable to the Divine Wisdom of its Creator, and to the Accounts of the Works themselves, as they are set down by *Moses*.

(VI.) The vulgar Scheme of the *Mosaic* Creation, besides the Disproportion as to Time, represents all Things, from first to last, so disorderly, confusedly, and unphilosophically, that it is intirely disagreeable to the Wisdom and Perfection of God. And here we might justly appeal to the Conscience of every careful Reader, even tho' his Knowledge of the true System of the World were not great, whether the vulgar Account has not ever seemed strange and surprizing to him? But if he were once philosophically disposed, and allowed himself a free Consideration of it; whether it has not ever been the most perplexing thing to his Thoughts that could be imagined? It is well known how far this Matter has been carried by wise and good Men; even to the taking away the Literal, and the resolving the whole into a *Popular, Moral, or Parabolical Sense*.

Sense. And under what Notion this History on the same Account has appeared to others of no less free, but less religious Dispositions and Thoughts, I need not say. What is indeed Matter of Doubt and Perplexity to pious Men, being unquestionably to the Loose and Prophane, the Subjects of Mirth and Drollery, and the sure Encouragement to Atheism and Impiety. Many Instances may be given of the irregular and unbecoming Procedure in the vulgar Scheme of the Creation, as seem plainly disagreeable to the Divine Wisdom, and unsuitable to the Nature of Things. (1.) Bodies alike in Nature have here an unlike Original. (2.) Bodies unlike in Nature have a like Original. (3.) Bodies most considerable in themselves have the most inconsiderable Accounts given of them. (4.) No Bodies but the Earth have either time for, or Particulars of the Formation of the several Parts assigned. (5.) The Light appears before its Cause and Fountain, the Sun, was made. (6.) The Excavation of the Channel of the Ocean, and the Elevation of the Mountains, seems unnatural and indecent.

(VII.) The *Mosaic* Creation does not extend beyond this Earth, because the alone final Cause of all therein contained is the Advantage of Mankind. Now that the *final Cause* of all the Particulars mentioned in the History before us is here rightly assigned, is not only visible in almost every Verse of it, but commonly acknowledged, nay contended for by the Patrons of the vulgar Account. But then as to the Consequence, that therefore the Creation is no farther to be extended, or at least not so far, as here it must otherwise be, to the Sun and Planets; nay with the most to the innumerable Systems of the fixt Stars, seems so natural and necessary, that methinks it is needless to go about the Proof of it. Can we think it consistent with the
Divine

50 *REMARKS, &c.*

Divine Wisdom to make thousands of glorious Bodies for the sole use of a few fallen and rebellious Creatures?

(VIII.) It appears that the *Mosaic* Creation extends no farther than our Earth, and is of no other Nature than is assigned here; because neither the Intentions of the Author require, nor the Capacities of the People could bear a strictly philosophical, or a truly universal Account of the Origin of Things.

(IX.) Lastly the *Mosaic* Creation extends no farther than this Earth and its Appendages; because the Deluge and Conflagration, whose Boundaries are the same with that of the *Mosaic* Creation, extend no farther.

The ingenious Author of the preceding Heads, concludes his Observations of this kind, with the following remarkable Observations.

It is well known what great, and hitherto insuperable Difficulties these Historians have involved in them, to the general View of Mankind; and how much still greater and more insuperable those Difficulties appeared to philosophical Enquirers, who came more nicely to consider them, and compare what was asserted in the Holy Scriptures, with the true Frame and System of external Nature. The Consideration of these things so affected a great and good Man * that he resolved on a noble Attempt, and undertook to clear those Points; and shew that the *temporary Origin of the World from a Chaos, and an universal Deluge*, were rational and accountable Theorems; and thereby take away that Obstacle, which the seeming Impossibility of these things laid in the way of ill disposed Persons. In which Matters he employed his utmost Skill in the best System of Philosophy then known in the World; and his most diligent Re-

* Dr. Burnet.

searches into the sacred and prophane Accounts, relating to those anciently more known Phænomena of Nature, together with such other Helps, as his own excellent Abilities could afford him; and that as to several main and principal Strokes, to very great Satisfaction, and the remarkable Illustration of the Holy Scripture. But in the Prosecution of this Scheme, being so vast, so noble, so uniform, so coherent, and withal so new and surprizing, it at last appeared, that his *Theory* would not in several Particulars accord with the Letter of Scripture. This unhappy Dissonancy the Theorist was soon sensible of, and no doubt not a little concerned about: In which Streight, seeing no possible way of securing the main Points, without so unpleasing a Concession; instead of resolving to rest satisfied with the natural Sense of *Scripture*, and acquiescing in the Divine Revelation, till farther Means of clearing the whole should offer themselves, which I think is a good Man's Duty in such Cases, he ventured to suppose, that the sacred Books were not always to be so literally and naturally understood, as was generally believed hitherto. He alledged, that considering the mean Capacities of the *Jews*, who were not capable of understanding such philosophic Truths; considering the most ancient way of conveying (or rather of concealing) sublime Theorems, by Parables, Fables, and Hieroglyphics; considering the Scripture Stile in some other Cases, very much different from the present plain and explicit way of Discourse, and nearer a-kin to that most ancient Method; considering the main End of the Holy Writings, the Benefit of the Moral World seemed not to require a strict Adherence to Truth, in every Circumstance relating to the Natural; nay rather inforced a receding from it in some Cases; considering, lastly, that all Ages had

had in vain endeavoured to clear these Points, according to the strictness of the most obvious Sense; and that the greater Improvements in Philosophy seemed but to render them still more unaccountable; considering, I say, all these things, he supposed that the Holy Writers only secured the fundamental, and general Verities; involving the rest under, and explaining the whole by a way of Speaking, which was Mystical and Mythological; rather popular than true; and fitted more to the Necessities of Men, than to the Reality of Things. This is, I think, (says Mr. *Whiston*) a fair and full Account of the Occasion of this unhappy Slip of our late excellent Theorist; and such a one I acknowledge it is, as in itself has no solid or necessary Foundation, is of ill Consequence to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and dishonourable both to their Penmen, and chiefly to their principal Inditer, the *blessed Spirit of God*.

In which Censure if the learned Author think me too free, or too severe, he will, I hope, see Reason to excuse, and not be displeased with me, when I have owned, as I must ingenuously do, that *in accusing him I condemn my self*; for *I my self*, in great Measure, *have thought the same things*. For I cannot but with the Theorist confess, that the Difficulties in the vulgar Expositions were so great; such absurd Incongruities ascribed to God by them; the true System of the World did so disagree, and increase the Scruples; the main Histories themselves appeared so impossible to be any other way secured; several of the Accounts given by the Theorist, were in the main so ingenious, so probable, and so agreeable to ancient Tradition, upon a cursory Consideration; and the Arguments before mentioned, seemed to me so considerable, that it was not easy for me to deny all Assent to that very Conclusion, which
yet

yet on farther Enquiries and Discoveries, I think not unworthy of the foregoing Censure. And I should esteem it a very signal Happiness, if as *that* Theory was so instrumental in drawing me into the fore-mentioned Mistakes; so *this* might be fortunate enough to persuade the Author of *that*, of the opposite Verity; the Discoveries which it contains having fully settled my own Mind; and are, I think, sufficient in themselves to settle the Minds of others.

But to wave these two ambitious Expectations, I cannot but say so much in behalf of that learned Theorist, that as he justly deserves the highest Commendations for so generous and worthy an Attempt; for the great Illustration he has given those Histories from the most ancient *traditionary* Learning; and the Light afforded to the Holy Scriptures in several, and those very considerable Points; so I think he has Reason to expect an easy Pardon where he was not able to do the same; especially when not only Pardon, but the freest Praises are bestowed on those who, as I before observed, have equally exposed the Honour of God, and equally derogated from the Reputation of the sacred Writings, by their unwary and unskilful Interpretations. A good Man, who to the highest Veneration for the Perfections of the Divine Nature, has joined a careful Enquiry into the Frame of the World, and a free but modest use of those Faculties God has given him; and has withal exactly considered the undoubted Evidence for the Divine Authority of the Scripture; ought to be, and will be as tender of believing a Sense which is contrary to his innate Notions, to the Perfections of God, and the certain Observations of Nature, as of that which puts a Force upon the Words themselves, and renders them merely Popular and Mythological. And by

54 REMARKS, &c.

Consequence either those, who so frequently and zealously do the former, are to be condemned, which yet the Christian World has been far from doing; or those who have been forced upon the latter ought to escape any greater Severity. For my own Part (says this learned Author) in such difficult Cases I easily pass over the Mistakes, and value the Truths discovered by any well disposed Persons; which is but a due Debt owing from one fallible Creature to another. I am convinced that there is no necessity of opposing the *literal* to the *true*; the *obvious* and *natural*, to the *rational* and *philosophical Interpretations* of the Holy Scripture; and shall chearfully wait for that happy Time, when all Doubts being removed, and all Objections prevented by the Improvement of our Knowledge, and the Conduct of the Divine Providence, *Reason* and *Revelation* shall reciprocally bear Witness to and embrace each other; when none shall be able to pretend to the one, but they who are equally acquainted and satisfied with the other; and the whole reasonable Creation shall unite their Hearts and Tongues in Hymns to God, saying, *All thy Commandments are faithful. * Thy Statutes are right rejoicing the Heart. † Thy Judgments, O Lord, are true, and righteous altogether. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy Judgments†. Great and marvellous are thy Works, O Lord God Almighty! Just and true are thy Ways, O King of Saints.***

Having presented the Reader with Mr. *Whiston's* Judgment, concerning our celebrated Author Dr. *Burnet*, it may not be amiss to subjoin Dr. *Nichols's* Opinion also, about his famous *Theory*, as we find

* *Psalms* cxix. 86.

† *Psalms* cxix. 137.

† *Psalms* xix. 8, 9.

** *Revelation* xv. 3.

it delivered in the second Part of his Conference with a Theist.

The most agreeable and surprising Book (says Dr. *Nichols*) which of late Years has offered itself to the World, was Dr. *Burnet's* Theory upon this Subject. (He had been speaking of the Deluge.) The Design thereof was so great and noble, the Language so exact, the Thought so delicate; the whole Work so uniform and of a Piece with itself, and adorned with such a variety of pleasant Learning; wherein were such ingenious Accounts given of the great Revolutions of Nature, of the *Formation* of the World; the *Paradisaical* State, of the *Ante-diluvian Longevity*, the *Deluge* and *Conflagration*; that tho' there might want some Degrees of Probability to make every Reader believe his *Theory* exactly true, yet it pleased most of them so, as to think it was Pity it was not. Far be it from me to detract from the ingenious Guesses of that learned Man; but yet there are some things in that Hypothesis, which lie very difficult in my Mind, and do not seem so agreeable to the mechanical Laws he goes by, and other Phænomena which are observable in Nature. The oval Figure which he ascribes to the *Ante-diluvian* Earth, seems inconsistent with the present Figure which it is found to be of; that is a Prolate Sphæroide, or an Oval turned about its lesser Axis (*i. e.*) of the Fashion of a Loaf; it was a prudent Design of Nature to make it of this Figure, because the additional Heaps of Ice and Snow, which are continually lodged at the Poles, by the Vapours constantly flying North and South, should never increase the Globe beyond a Circle. His excluding the *annual Motion* of the Earth, and its Motion of Parallelism to the Poles of the World, allowing it only a simple Motion round an Axis parallel to the Poles of the Ecliptic, and

56 REMARKS, &c.

and consequently taking away the Vicissitudes of Seasons, which is one of the greatest Beauties of the World; and leaving the greater Part of it uninhabitable, is a Matter which one cannot so easily comply with; especially when the first Chapter of *Genesis* says, *That the Stars shall be for Times, and for Seasons, and for Days, and for Years.* And so is his Exclusion from thence of the Seas, Hills, and great Rivers, allowing only some trilling Streams from the Poles. For the World without the Sea would be but a Prison, where Men would be locked up from one another without intercourse, would have no Communication in Commerce, Arts, Inventions; but People must be content to live uncomfortably at Home upon their own Stocks, and their own Improvements. Without Hills, Men would be bereaved of the Ornament and Convenience of Metals, of the Usefulness of Minerals and Stones; and Men wou'd have wanted Money, domestic Utensils, Physic and Buildings; nay without Hills to drain off the Mists, and Rains, and Seas to evaporate the Mists and Rains from, it is unaccountable to me how there should be such a thing as a River in the World; and I fancy the easy Descent upon the Declivity of an Oval as big as the Earth, is not agreeable to the Laws of *Hydrostaticks*, and the usual Current of Waters. Nor is it less difficult to me to imagine how a Crust of so vast a Thickness, as that of the Earth must be, should be broken by any natural Force, especially being supported equally by the subterraneous Waters; or as for any Fissures or Cracks by the Heat of the Sun, they are demonstrated in the hottest Countries not to go many Yards into the Ground; and as for any Earthquakes raised by Evaporation of the Abyss below, every Ditcher can tell, that the Heat of the Sun-beams does not go so many
Inches

Inches under Ground, as this Hypothesis must suppose Leagues; and besides Earthquakes and subterraneous Irruptions are not caused by rarified Vapours, but by the Accension of sulphureous Damps, which, like Gun-Powder, rend, and tear, and carry all before them, and are often wont to break out in visible Flame. Nay farther, those vast Fissures and ugly Gaps would have been more inconvenient and unsightful in the *Antediluvian* Earth, than the most barren Mountains and roughest Seas are with us. Neither does the usual Depth of the Channels of the Sea seem to answer to the Depth of the Abyfs; nor the Regularity of the Mountains to the accidental Fragments of such a Crust. There would then appear frequently prodigious Wells and Gaps, where the Fragments did not exactly meet, and such horned and naked *Apices*, which could not by this time have been any thing smoothed by Rains, or covered with Grass or Herbs: Nay even in the very Situation of the Mountains and greatest Hills, there appears wise Contrivance, and not accidental Fracture; for to go no farther than our own Country, all our great Ridges of Hills in *England* run East and West; so do the *Alps* in *Italy*, and in some Measure the *Pyrenees*; so do the Mountains of the Moon in *Africk*; and so does Mount *Taurus* and *Caucasus*. And farther, there appears a prudent Foresight, in not making the Ridges of Hills continued, but by breaking them off into *Tumuli*, or Heads, part of each of which lies obliquely behind another, and generally admits a skew Passage between. For unless there was such a Ridge of Hills frequent from East to West, the Vapours would all run Northward, and there would be no Rains in the *Mediterranean* Countries, but the Rivers dried up, and the Sea itself in time evaporated and frozen into polar Ice. And unless the

e

Hills

58 REMARKS, &c.

Hills were divided into these oblique Breaks, so as to keep back the Vapours and let in the Northern Air, the World would be far more liable to Pestilencies and Putrefaction than now it is, and all Places as unhealthy as *Scanderoon*. These things, with the Deduction of the *Americans* from another Race than *Noah*, and some other Matters of less Consequence, are my Reasons why I cannot subscribe to that learned Doctor's Solution of the *Noachial* Deluge.

But to return to our Subject. Dr. Burnet observes in this Chapter, that there are Arguments sufficient to demonstrate that the *Mosaical* Epocha of about six thousand Years does not comprehend the Original of the whole Universe, but the Age of our Earth, and the Time since it was formed out of its Chaos. He observes, that the fixt Stars seem ancients than the Planets, and to be each of them the Center of its own Orb, or *Vortex*. As many Systems therefore (says he) must be constituted in the Heavens, as there are fixt Stars, which would swallow up this little Point of Earth, as if it were less than nothing. He also takes Notice, that it is probable that the Planets were formerly fixt Stars, and that the Earth itself ought to be numbred in the same Rank; and makes some curious Observations concerning the Extinction of fixt Stars, which I shall not here transcribe, but refer the Reader to the 36th and 37th Pages of our Translation.

Such Observations as these naturally lead the Mind of Man to a curious and careful Search after the Nature and Motions of the heavenly Bodies: It shall therefore be my Business, at present, to give the Reader a View of those Opinions which learned Men in all Ages have entertained concerning them.

And

And since our Author is here treating of the fixt Stars, and Planets, we shall consider the Nature of them before we enquire after the Sun, that most glorious Luminary.

As for the fixt Stars, the chief things that deserve our Observations are, (1.) Their Substance, concerning which the Ancients differ in Opinion: *Zoroaster* held them to be of a fiery Substance, and so did the Stoicks*: The *Egyptian* Philosophers, as *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, believed that the Stars are Fire, and that by their Contemperation all things are produced on the Earth. *Thales* held the Stars to be both of an earthly and fiery Substance. *Empedocles* maintained, that they consisted of that very Fire which the *Aether* contained in itself, and struck out at its first Secretion. The Opinion of *Anaxagoras* deserves to be mentioned for no other Reason, but because it is extravagantly ridiculous: For he affirmed, that the ambient *Aether*, being of a fiery Nature, does, by the impetuous Swiftneſs of its Motion, whisk up Stones from the Earth, and that they being set on Fire become Stars, and are carried from East to West. *Heraclides* and the *Pythagoreans* believed each Star to be a particular World by itself, existing in the infinite ethereal Space, and containing an Earth, an Air, and a Sky. *Aristotle* and his Followers assert them to be of the same Substance with the Heavens, but only more condensed; and that they are simple Bodies, without the Mixture of any Elements.

(2.) Their Colour; which visibly differs, according to the Variety of their Light, as it is blended and attempered by the different Constitution of the Matter or Substance of which they are composed;

* See the very curious Remarks of the learned Commentator on Mr. Creech's *Lucretius*, Book V.

60 REMARKS, &c.

for some appear to be of a ruddy, others of a leaden Hue; some of a Gold Colour, others of a Silver White, others pallid, &c. Whence some have pretended to form a Judgment of their several Natures, and accordingly have ranged them under the several Planets, of whose Qualities they imagined them chiefly to partake; having regard to the Proportion or Resemblance they bear in their Colours to those of the Planets.

(3.) Their Scintillation; which particularly distinguishes them from the Planets, which have no such Vibration or Twinkling of Lights, as generally is observed, more or less, in all the fixt Stars. *Aristotle* ascribes the Cause of their Scintillation to their Remoteness from our Sight, but this Reason is not convincing; since if it were true, the Planets *Jupiter* and *Saturn* should, by Reason of their great Distance, in some measure affect our Sight with such a Trembling or Scintillation; and this we know they never do, even in their greatest Altitude. Others ascribe the Cause to Refraction, and imagine this Scintillation to arise from the unequal Surface of the fluctuating Air, or Medium, thro' which the Sight passes; in like manner as Stones in the Bottom of a River seem to have a tremulous Kind of Motion, which nevertheless is only the curled and uneven Undulation of the Surface of the Water. But if this Reason were true, we should not only in the fixt Stars, but in the Planets, nay even in the Moon, discover such a Scintillation. *Hevelius* ascribes it to a constant Evibration of lucid Matter, or a continual Expiration of fiery Vapours from those celestial Bodies.

(4.) Their Number; which, according to the Computation of *Ptolemy*, including only those which are most remarkable and visible, and as they are reduced to the six commonly received Degrees of
Mag-

Magnitude, amounts to only 1022: And *Pliny* reckons them to be 1600; but if we reflect on the Number of all the Stars in the Firmament, as we regard them by the Help of a Telescope, which discovers many more than the bare Eye can do, we may affirm them to exceed the Number of human Calculation. *Ricciolus* speaking of the Number of the Stars, argues thus, That if the Constellation of *Orion* takes up in the Heavens the Space of 500 square Degrees, as by Experience we know it does, and if every square Space, whose Side is but two Degrees, contains no less than 500 Stars, as *Galileo* by the Assistance of a Telescope observed, there will be found in the whole Constellation of *Orion* at least 62500 Stars, tho' the bare Eye only cannot discover in the whole above 63. According to which Proportion, if the rest of the Constellations were examined, and if the Difference of the Number of Stars, that appear by the Telescope, over and above those discerned by the bare Eye, were computed, it would amount to above 1000000 of Stars, besides those in the *Milky-Way*.

(5.) We may consider their Light, whether it be innate, and the Gift of the Almighty at their Creation, or mutuatitious and borrowed from the Sun: Which last is the Opinion of *Metrodorus* in *Plutarch* †; and with him agree many of the Modern both Philosophers and Astronomers. The first Opinion however seems to be the most probable.

The Reverend Mr. *Derham*, in his *Astro-Theology*, a Work enriched with variety of learned and sublime Speculations, assures us, that the best and most learned modern Astronomers do generally suppose

† De Placit. Philosoph. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

62 REMARKS, &c.

the great Multitude of fixt Stars we see, or imagine are in the Universe, to be so many Suns, and each of them encompassed with a System of Planets like our Sun. And that the fixt Stars are Suns (says that celebrated Author) or of much the same Nature as our Sun, there is great Reason to conclude, (1.) Because they are Bodies no less immense than the Sun, but only diminished in Appearance by their prodigious Distance from us. (2.) Because they shine by their own native Light, not by any borrowed from the Sun. For so great are their Distances from the Sun, and from us also, that it is not possible their Light should be received from the Sun, and reflected to us, as that of the Moon and other Planets is. And withal so brisk and vivid is their Light, and so very small their apparent Diameters, when divested of their glaring Rays, and made to have their true Appearance through our Telescopes, that no Question is to be made, but that they shine by their own innate Light, as our Sun doth.

And if the fixt Stars are so many Suns, certainly they minister to some grand Uses in the Universe, far above what hath usually been attributed to them. And what more probable Uses, than to perform the Office of so many Suns? that is to enlighten and warm as many Systems of Planets; after the manner as our Sun doth the Erratics encompassing it. And that this is the Use and Office of the fixt Stars is probable:

(1.) Because this is a far more suitable Use for so many Suns, so many glorious Bodies, than to say they were made only to enlighten and influence our lesser, and I may say inferior Globe; which another Moon or two, or one or two of those very Suns, set nearer to us, would have better done than all the whole Train of Heavenly Bodies now doth.
But

But instead of this many of them, nay perhaps the greatest Number, of them are at such immense Distances, that they are out of the Reach of our naked Eye; in which Case, what use is it likely such great Numbers of immense, unseen, far distant Bodies can be to our World, when there are so many already of diverse Magnitudes of those that fall under view, that (besides other much greater Uses they may serve unto in the Universe) do minister to our Help and Comfort, here upon Earth, in supplying the Absence of the Sun and Moon by Night?

(2.) From the Parity and constant Uniformity observable in all God's Works, we may have Reason to conclude, that every fixt Star hath a System of Planets, as well as the Sun; for it is certain, that the Sun is a fixt Star to the fixt Stars, as they are to the Sun. And in this Case (as the justly renowned Mr. C. *Huygens* argues*) we should imagine our selves to be placed somewhere in the heavenly Regions, as far from the Sun as from the fixt Stars; we should then perceive no difference between the one or the other. For it would be very unlikely, that we should see any of the Solar Planets, either by Reason of the diminishing of their Light, or because their Orbs would sink into the same lucid Point with that of the Sun. Being then so placed, we should imagine all these Stars (both Sun and fixt Stars) to be much of the same Nature and Kind; and from a View of any one of them nearer to us than the rest, we should make our Judgment of them all. And now being (says he) by the Favour of God admitted so near one of them, namely the Sun, as to see six lesser Globes, revolving round about him, and other secondary

* Cosmotheoros, Page 133.

64 REMARKS, &c.

ones revolving round some of them: Why ought we not to have the same Judgment of the rest of those Suns, as of this, and think it altogether probable, that this is not the only Star, of all the Number, that is encompassed with such a Train, or in any respect excels the rest? Neither also that this Star alone revolves round its own Axis, but rather that all the rest have somewhat of the same kind also.

(3.) Besides those strong Probabilities we have this farther to recommend those Imaginations to us, that this Account of the Universe is far more magnificent, worthy of, and becoming the infinite Creator, than any other of the narrower Schemes; for here we have the Works of the Creation not confined to the more scanty Limits of the Orb or Arch of the fixt Stars, or even the larger Space of the *Primum Mobile* (which the Ancients fancied were the utmost Bounds of the Universe) but they are extended to a far larger, as well as more probable, even an indefinite Space.

As for the Planets, according to the *Ptolemaic* System, they are supposed (together with other massy Orbs and vast Bodies) to move round the terraqueous Globe once in 24 Hours, and besides that in some other certain periodical Times. For the effecting of which Motions, they were forced to contrive such Circles as they called Eccentrics and Epicycles crossing and interfering with one another. But according to the *Copernican* System, the Sun is supposed to be in the Center, and the Heavens and Earth to revolve round about him, according to their several Periods.

So far as this System relates to the Motion of the Earth, and the Sun resting in the Center, I prefer it (says the learned Mr. *Derham*) to the *Ptolemaic* Hypothesis, on the five following Accounts.

(1.) Be-

(1.) Because it is far more agreeable to Nature, which never goes a round-about way, but always acts by the most compendious, easy, and simple Methods, and, in the *Copernican* way; that is, performed by one, or a few easy Revolutions, which in the other way is made the Work of the whole Heavens, and of many strange and unnatural Orbs.

(2.) As the *Copernican* is far more easy and agreeable to Nature than the *Ptolemaic* System; so it is far more compleat and answerable to the various Phænomena of the Planets.

(3.) The prodigious and inconceivable Rapidity assigned by the *Ptolemaics* to the Heavens, is by the *Copernican* Scheme taken off, and a far more easy and tolerable Motion substituted in its Room. For is it not a far more easy Motion for the Earth to revolve round its own Axis in 24 Hours, than for so great a Number of far more massy and far distant Globes to revolve round the Earth in the same Space of Time. If the Maintainers of the *Ptolemaic* System do object against the Motion of the Earth, that it would make us dizzy, and shatter our Globe to Pieces, what a precipitant, how terrible a Rapidity must that of the Heavens be? What a Velocity must the Sun have to run its Course at the Distance of 21 or 22 Semi-Diameters of the Earth?

The same celebrated Author, speaking of the Magnitude of the heavenly Bodies, supposes the Diameter of this our Globe to be above 79 hundred Miles; and that consequently its Surface is a good deal above 199 Millions of Miles, and its solid Content or Bulk near 265 Thousand Millions of Miles. If therefore (says he) we should go no farther from Home than our Globe, we have a Mass here worthy of an infinite Creator, a Work proclaiming that great Being that made it. But as vast a Body as this seems to be, it is much less than
many,

66 REMARKS, &c.

many, yea most of the heavenly Bodies that are visible to us, except two or three of the Planets, which seem to be less than our Globe, namely *Mars*, whose Diameter is reckoned to be but 4875 *English* Miles, and the Moon whose Diameter is but 2175 Miles; and *Mercury* whose Diameter is 2748 Miles; but yet these are vast and amazing Bodies too. But for the rest there is good Reason to imagine their Bulk exceeds that of our terraqueous Globe. Thus the two superior Planets by far exceed us; *Saturn* being computed at 93451 Miles in Diameter, and consequently at 427218300000000 Miles in its Bulk; and *Jupiter* at 130653 Miles in Diameter, and 920011200000000 Miles in Bulk.

As to their Motion, they have doubtless (1.) an annual or periodical one; for it is manifest that either the Sun and the Planets move about the Earth, the one in the Space of a Year, and the rest in other Times; or that the Earth and the other Planets move about the Sun in such Times. But let us suppose the latter, that the Sun is fixt in the Center, without any other but its diurnal Rotation in 25 Days; in this Case we shall have the several primary Planets revolving round the Sun in an excellent and due Order, by the exactest Rules of such a noble Structure, such an admirable Oeconomy, and that is in Times, in square Proportion to the Cubes of their Distances. So that we see *Mercury* perform its Period in near 88 Days; *Venus* (the next in order to the Sun) its Period in somewhat above 224 Days; then the Earth, with its Companion the Moon, in $365\frac{1}{4}$ Days; then *Mars* in about 687 Days; next him *Jupiter* in about 4333 Days; and lastly *Saturn* in somewhat above 10759 Days.

But (2.) They have also a diurnal Motion, and each of them has a Circumvolution round its Axis.

Saturn indeed is at so great a Distance from us, that we have not been able to perceive whether or no he hath such a Rotation; but as the other Planets have it, and there is full as much Occasion for it in *Saturn* as in them, so there is no great doubt to be made, but that he hath such a like diurnal Motion accommodated, as well to his State, as it is in the Earth and the rest of the Planets. So *Jupiter* is discovered to have manifestly a Motion round upon its Axis from East to West in the Space of 9 h. 56'; as to *Mars* and *Venus* they are both discovered to have Spots or Parts lighter and darker, as well as *Jupiter*, and to have a Motion also as he has. Thus are the primary Planets discovered to have a diurnal Rotation, or somewhat very like it at least, all except *Saturn* (as was before observed) and *Mercury*, and our own Globe. And as to these we have very little or no Reason to imagine, but that they move as well as the rest, only we cannot perceive it in *Mercury*, by Reason of its Proximity to the Sun, and that its Elongations are never so great, nor so long, as to enable us to have any good and sufficient views of him with our Telescopes.

And as for our own Globe, it is very visible, that either that moves round in 24 Hours, or that the Sun, and all the Heavens move round it in the same Time. And which of these two is the most agreeable to the usual Methods of Nature, let every one judge. We ought not to pass by the Consideration of the different Paths of their periodical and diurnal Motion; that they lie not in a very different Plane, as quite across, or the like; nor exactly in the same Plane, but a little crossing one another; the diurnal Course lying in, or parallel to the Equator; but the other in the broad Path of the Zodiac at an Inclination of $23\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees.

68 REMARKS, &c.

Sir *Richard Blackmore* has given us a brief and beautiful Description of the Planets.

Mercurius nearest to the central Sun,
 Does in an oval Orbit circling run:
 But rarely is the Object of our Sight
 In solar Glory sunk, and more prevailing Light.
Venus the next, whose lovely Beams adorn
 As well the dewy Eve as opening Morn,
 Does her fair Orb in beauteous order turn.
 The Globe terrestrial next, with slanting Poles,
 And all its pond'rous Load unwearied rolls.
 Then we behold bright planetary *Jove*
 Sublime in Air thro' his wide Province move;
 Four second Planets his Dominion own,
 And round him turn, as round the Earth the Moon.
Saturn revolving in the highest Sphere,
 With lingring Labour finishes his Year.

But yet as amazing Bodies as these all are, yet they are all far outdone by that stupendous Globe of Fire the Sun; which as it is the Fountain of Light and Heat to all the Planets about it, affording them by his benign Rays, and kindly Influence, the great Pleasures and Comforts of Life, so doth it as far surpass them in its Bulk; its apparent Diameter (says Mr. *Derham*) being computed at 822148 *English* Miles, and its solid Content at 290971000000000000 Miles, supposing the Face

we

we see of the Sun to be the true and real Globe. What Power is there that the most extravagant Fancy can imagine to itself, that could ever be able to make so prodigious a Mass of Fire, as the Sun is, but only the *Power of God's Almighty Hand*. A Body of so immense a Bulk, and of such an excessive Heat, that no greater a Number of its Rays than what fall within the Compass of a two or three Inch Burning-Glass, shall actually burn; and what fall within the Compass of not many Feet, shall far exceed the strongest culinary Fire in the Earth: As is manifest from its almost instantaneous Burning, and vitrifying the most obdurate incombustible Bodies, such as not only green Wood, but also Stones, Bricks, Metals, yea Gold itself (the hardest of all Metals to be wrought upon by Fire) which yet is melted down in a few Minutes. *Milton*, speaking of the SUN, calls him,

——Great Palace of all Light;

To him as to their Fountain other Stars
Repairing, in their golden Urns draw Light;
And hence the Morning Planet gilds her Horns.

It is probable (says the aforesaid Commentator on *Lucretius*) that within the solar Globe, as in this Earth of ours, there are vast Caverns and Receptacles of Fire, that break out of the Sun's ignivomous Mountains, in like manner as subterranean Fires are ejected from *Ætna*, *Hecla* and *Vesuvius*. Besides the solid Parts of the Sun, within whose Bowels is contained the liquid Fire, like Metal in a Furnace, are thoroughly ignified in the same Manner, as the Bricks of the Roofs, and Sides of Furnaces are made
red

red hot, and look of the same Colour as the fiery Mass of melted Matter within them.

It is farther supposed, that the solid Parts of the Sun consist of an incombustible Matter, and far better able to resist the Voracity of Fire, than this Earth of ours. Nay supposing that some Parts of the Sun, here and there, should be consumed, and whole Mountains be levelled and wasted, yet there is no necessity from thence, that the Globe of the Sun should be totally destroyed, no more than is this Earth by the frequent Accidents of such Kinds of Ruins and Decays.

It is likewise observed, that as well this Sea of liquid Fire, as that which breaks out of the Caverns and Mountains, constantly exhales fuliginous Vapours, not black and sooty, like the Smoke of our Fire, but bright and clear; and that these Exhalations, condensing in the ambient *Aether*, do in a manner overcast the Sun, as Clouds overshadow the Earth. From all which, and from the Evidence of frequent Observations, lately made by the Help of the Telescope, the Mistake of *Aristotle* and his Followers is manifest, who imagine the Sun to be an unalterable Substance; whereas, indeed, he is subject to diverse Changes and Alterations, which not only the Generation and Production, but the Dissolution and Corruption likewise of several Phenomena in the Body of the Sun, altogether unknown to the Ancients, clearly demonstrate; among which the most remarkable are those, which late Astronomers call the *Macula Solares*, and the *Facula Solares*.

The *Macula*, or Spots, are, they tell us, certain cloudy Obscurities, appearing on the Disk of the Sun; and supposed by some to be a fuliginous, obscure Matter or Exhalation, sometimes closely compacted into one, sometimes dispersed and dissipated

diffipated into several Parcels, and issuing from its fervent Body, by Force of its extreme Heat : But whether they are in the Sun itself, or some Space distant from it, is not certain : However, it is from several Observations most probable, that they are in the very Body of the Sun, or at least not far from the Surface of it. They are very irregular in their Shapes and Figures, and some of them are more durable than others : And those that have the longest Duration, are held to be the solid Parts of the Sun, and it is believed that the Reason why they discover themselves in various Figures, and of different Magnitudes, is because of the vertiginous Motion of the Sun about his own Axis, representing them to our Sight in different Situations.

The *Facula Solares* (says the abovementioned Author) are held to be partly massy Globes of Fire, that burst out of the ignivomous solar Mountains; and which, by Reason of their Brightness, shine amidst the *Macula*, or fuliginous, cloudy Vapours, and sometimes disappear in a short Space of Time, and sometimes continue visible a long while : And partly Effervescencies of the flaming solar Ocean, which by Reason of the excessive innate Fervour of the Globe of the Sun, boils up into mighty Waves, like so many Mountains of Light that scatter and disperse the darker *Macula*, and discover as it were a fiery Ocean fluctuating and agitated with Billows of excessive Splendor.

So that the celebrated Author of the Poem, entitled *Creation*, might well make the following Remark.

Or had the Sun by like unhappy Fate,
Elected to the Earth a nearer Seat,

His

72 *REMARKS, &c.*

His Beams had cleft the Hill, the Valley dry'd,
Exhal'd the Lake, and drain'd the briny Tide.

A Heat superior far to that which broils

Bornso or *Sumatra Indian* Isles;

Than that which ripens *Guinea's* Golden Ore,

Or burns the *Libyan* Hind, or tans the *Moor*,

Had laid all Nature waste, and turn'd the Land

To Hills of Cinders, and to Vales of Sand.

Thus much may suffice as to the heavenly Bodies, and such a Knowledge of them, as may enable the Reader the better to understand what *Dr. Burnet* says concerning them in this Chapter. We shall now proceed to another Observation of our Author's.

“ *Moses* (says he) in his *Hexaemeron* mentions a
“ famous Phænomenon, whereof we have not any
“ Appearance; I mean his Waters above the Fir-
“ mament; in making or disposing of which he
“ tells us God spent one intire Day, which is no
“ less time than he employed about the Sun, Moon,
“ and all the Host of Heaven.

This Phænomenon has indeed occasioned various Disputes, and Expositors have given us their different Sentiments about these Waters, which are above the Firmament: As we may particularly find in *Pool's Synopsis Criticorum*, where we find, That the *Hebrews*, from a Criticism on the Word *above*, which also signifies *in*, *within*, and *in the middle* *, infer that these Waters are sustained and hang, by a Miracle, in a Body, at the same Distance from

* *Fagius*.

REMARKS, &c. 73

the Firmament above, as the *Sea* is placed from the Firmament below; and Rabbi *Solomon*, fond of these *Stationary Waters*, says, that the Word in *Hebrew* does not so much import above; for that might mean any Height or Distance, as it does immediately over, and next in order to the Firmament, and there he thinks them placed.

Lyra says, that these are a Body of Waters, but of a more refined and celestial Nature, than ours; and that they are placed immediately under the Empyrean Heaven; and *Tyrinus* and *Bochart* say they are placed there to intercept our View of the Empyrean Heaven, which shines with a Light brighter than the Sun, and which sends forth Rays, too splendid and refulgent for our Eyes to bear or behold. The Fathers think there is such a Body of Waters still existing, and several Commentators produce these Reasons for it: (1.) From the Import of the original *Hebrew* Word. (2.) Because the Waters above the Heavens are called on to praise God in the Psalms, which cannot be Clouds, because these Waters are distinguished in those Places from Rain and Dew. (3.) Because the Bulk of the Waters of the Flood could come from no other Fountain. (4.) In *Psalms* civ. verse 3. God is said to lay the Beams of his Chambers upon the Waters; and he Thunders upon many Waters*. (5.) These Waters cannot be Clouds, because the Clouds were not then created.

Others † will understand these Waters to be nothing but Clouds, which hang in, or above the Air, Firmament or Heaven; which three Words they take to mean the same thing, and they quote *Hosea*, *Jeremiah* and *St. Matthew* for the Fowls of Heaven to this Purpose; and *Grotius* quotes *Pliny* saying,

* *Psalms* xxix. 3. † *Cajetan*, *Piscator*, *Ainsworth*, &c.

What is more wonderful than to behold the Waters standing in Heaven? Their Reasons are: (1.) It is not likely that *Moses*, when he speaks of Waters in his History of the Creation, should omit mentioning Rain. It is said that the Waters drop or distil from Heaven. (2.) If *Moses* had not mentioned Rain, he had omitted one of the greatest Blessings of God in the Creation. (3.) *Moses* mentions but two Sorts of Waters, and the Clouds are called Waters*. (4) As every Particle of Water is called Water, so every Part of Heaven is called Heaven.

Dr. *Nichols's* Conjecture on this Head ‡ deserves our Regard. There are (says he) a great many Plants and Drugs in the World which we do not know the use of; and yet it would be a Madness to deny their Existence. If by God's Word we are assured there are such celestial Waters, it is to no purpose to dispute the use of them; for tho' we do not know it, God may. But perhaps there may be another Sense of the Words, than what is usually apprehended. *And God made the Firmament, and divided the Waters which were under the Firmament from the Waters which were above the Firmament.* Now by the Firmament is generally, and, I think, very well, understood the Atmosphere of the Earth, or the Regions of the Air. All the Difficulty is to find out what these celestial Waters above the Air be. Now there is no need to seek out Pools in the *Empyreum*, if we can find Waters nigher home: Then why may not the Waters which belong to each Planet, be these Waters above the Firmament? That the Moon has Waters analogous to our Seas, is demonstrable from the different Reflection of Light from her different Parts, nay from the

* *Psalms* civ.

‡ Conference with a Theist, Part I.

very Shape of Seas and Islands we observe in her: And that the other Planets have the same, is highly probable from their Similitude to one another. Now I suppose that before the Work of the second Day, all this Planetary Water lay undistinguishably dispersed throughout the *Expansum*, and, together with the *Aether*, made up the pellucid Globe, which was left by the Secession of the opaque and terrenous Parts that subsided to the seven respective Centers, and formed the Bodies of the Planets. The Work therefore of the second Day was to make a Division of these Waters, to distribute them in proper Proportions to the several Planets: And in Obedience to God's Command, all the aqueous Parts of the great Pellucid, subsided towards the Centers of the Planets, and were circumfused about their Globes. Thus the *Expansum* was cleared off a second time, by the Subsidency of the aqueous and uninflammable Parts; and left the Pellucid to consist of a still finer and purer Substance. Now this Subsidency of the aqueous Parts to the different Centers, *Moses* calls dividing the Waters under the Firmament, from the *Waters* which are *above* the Firmament. The Waters under the Firmament, are the Waters of the Earth; the Waters above the Firmament, are those of the Moon and other Planets; which since the second Day's Work are distinguished, but lay confusedly dispersed in the *Expansum* before.

You see this ingenious Gentleman's Opinion of this Matter is vastly different from our Author's Sentiments of it, who shuts up his Discourse about the super-celestial Waters in the following Words. "The
" thing in short comes to this, the Vulgar do not
" comprehend the natural Generation of Rain by
" the Condensation of Vapours, but fancy that
" the Rain is sent down from Heaven by a Divine
" Impulse, or comes immediately from God: *Mo-*

76 REMARKS, &c.

“*ses* to favour this Opinion, goes and makes a
 “ common Receptracle for the Waters above the
 “ Heavens; so that God by opening or shutting his
 “ Flood Gates, might at his Pleasure keep up or let
 “ down the Rain.”

But we have already seen how this Phænomenon may be accounted for, without supposing that *Moses* mentions it only by way of Condescension to the Capacity of the common People.

The Doctor says, “ That when *Moses* treats of
 “ Light in the first Day of the Creation, that Phæ-
 “ nomenon is equally incapable of being explained
 “ by any Physical Reason; but lest God should
 “ seem to work three Days in the Dark, *Moses*
 “ thought it was convenient to produce Light at
 “ the Beginning of the Work. But what sort of
 “ Light was it? A Light without any Source,
 “ without any Original from whence it might be
 “ derived. The Reader may turn back to the 41
 and 42^d Pages of the second Chapter, and find
 more of this, which to transcribe here would be superfluous; our Business being rather to consider what may be offered (by way of Solution) to this Objection.

This Difficulty, says a considerable Divine*, has horribly puzzled Interpreters. The Rabbins, who are used to be very fruitful for Invention, tell us the Sun was created the first Day, when the Light is said to be created, but is mentioned by way of Repetition in the fourth Day. Others will have this Light to be a lucid Cloud, like that which went before the Children of *Israel* in the Wilderness, and moved round the World like the Sun, till that was created. But our Prophet need not be helped off with such silly shifts as these. Darkness

* Dr. Nichols.

has been in all Ages the chief Idea Men have had of a Chaos. Hence *Nox*, and *Erebus*, and *Tartarus*, have been the principal Part of the Description of it in the Poets and Philosophers: Therefore it should seem very agreeable to the Reason of Mankind, that the first Remove from the Chaos should be a tendency to Light. Either all Mankind have been out in their Notion of a Chaos, or the *Mosaic* Hypothesis is very well contrived to be so conformable to it. But by Light, as it was produced the first Day, must not be understood the Darting of Rays from a luminous Body, or the Trepidation of the intermediate Corpuscles between that and the Eye, which is the actual Light we enjoy now: But only the forming and adapting such tenuious Parts, in such a Figure and Manner, as when such a luminous Body should be afterwards created, they should convey Light to us, or raise that agreeable Sensation in us.

Dr. *Burnet* speaking in this Chapter concerning the first three Days of *Moses's* Creation, is pleased to observe, " That the Tasks of each of these Days are extremely unequal; the first Day's work (says he) " would have been finished in the Twinkling of an Eye, and so in my Opinion the second; whereas the third Day's Task would have been a vast and tedious Piece of Business: And he instances particularly in the cutting out so large a Channel as is that of the Sea.

But may we not (with the learned Writer whom we lately mentioned) ask, what a mighty Difficulty is it for God Almighty to hollow out the Channels of the Sea in one Day? If we were to get Workmen to do it in such a Time it would be a very difficult Enterprize. But for God Almighty to do that in four and twenty Hours time, by an Almighty Power, which he might if he had pleased

78 REMARKS, &c.

have done in an Instant, is such a Wonder as no wise Man should be startled at. A Man may take a little Bit of Earth out of a Border in a Garden, and in a Minute's Time mold it into what Form he will; he can make it round or oval, convex or hollow, or how he pleases; and may we not very well suppose, that God Almighty might in as little time, have formed Earth into what Figure he pleased? The Earth was then very flexible, its Parts being not then settled into its present Hardness, and therefore might easily be molded into any Figure whatsoever. But to wonder (says Dr. *Nichols*) how God could bring the Waters which covered the Inland Countries in one Day's time into the Channel of the Sea, is to me very strange: For why should God in his Creation, be tied to the dull, sluggish Motion of his Creatures, since Motion is demonstrated to be infinitely fast, or slow, as God pleases? And why should we oblige him in his Works to any determinate Degree of it? We see the Waters move just such a Pace now; and therefore God must necessarily, forsooth, wait their Motions, and protract the Time of his Creation because of that. This, I am sure, is something of the Philosophy of a Country-man, this is a true Plebeian Hypothesis, and something of Kin to that of *Horace*:

*Rusticus expectat dum labitur Annis: at ille
Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

Mr. *Whiston* in his *Theory* of the Earth, makes the following Observations concerning the third Days work.

The visible Parts of the third Day's work were
two

two, the former the Collection of the inferior Waters, or such as were now under the Heaven into the Seas, with the consequent appearance of the dry Land; the latter the Production of Vegetables out of that Ground so lately become dry.

In order to the Apprehending of the double Operation of this Day, we must call to mind what State the Orb of Earth was in by this time. We have seen already that it had been settling together, and fixing itself on the Surface of the Abyfs, from the very Beginning of the Creation; and we ought to suppose that in the Space of two Years (for according to this learned Gentleman's Hypothesis, a Day and a Year were then all one) it was not only become wholly distinct from the Abyfs below, and the Atmosphere above it, but that it was settled and consolidated together, and its *Strata* grown firm and compacted. Nay that it was by the Cohesion of its Parts grown solid sometime before all the lighter and remoter earthly Parts were descended upon it, as suppose by the End of the first Day. We must farther observe, that by Reason of its Columns, different Density and specific Gravity (attested to, *a Priori*, from the Chaos's, and *a Posteriori* from the internal Earth's Phænomena) it was settled into the Abyfs in different Degrees, and thereby became of an unequal Surface distinguished into Mountains, Plains and Vallies. I say it was settled into the Abyfs in different Degrees, but yet not near to such a Degree as the Law of specifick Gravity required, as necessarily follows from what was now said, that the several Columns would be consolidated together the first Day, before all the lighter and remoter earthly Parts, which were to compose it, were descended upon it on the second, and perhaps afterwards, also on Part of the third. Which things being supposed and considered, the two Works of this Day, or

f 4

Year,

80 REMARKS, &c.

Year, of the Creation, which are of themselves very different, will be easily understood and reconciled. For when at Sun-set, or the Conclusion of the last Day, we left the Air by the nine or ten Months Power of the Sun elevating fresh ones, and by the great Quantity of Salt ones still remaining there from the Beginning, crowded with Vapours to a prodigious Degree; upon the coming on of this third Day, and in its Night, or former Part, the said Quantities of Vapours must needs descend, and so by Degrees must leave the Air pretty free, and take their Places on the Surface of the Earth; altering thereby their own Denomination, and becoming of *upper, or celestial, lower, or terrestrial Waters*. Indeed if we do but allow the Effect to be in any measure answerable to the Time, we shall grant that in the two or three Months of Night, which is the former Part of this third Period of the Creation, the main Body of the Vapours must have not only descended down upon the Earth, but by Reason of the Inequality of its Surface, and the Solidity withal, have run down from the higher, and more extant Parts, by the Declivities and Hollows into the lowest Vallies, and most depressed Regions of all, must in these Places have composed the Seas and Lakes every where throughout the Surface of the Earth; and so by that time the Light appeared, and the Sun's rising began the latter Part of this Day, the entire Face of the Globe, which was just before covered as it were with the descending Waters, must be distinguished into overflowed Vallies; and extant Continents, into Seas and dry Lands, that very Work of this Day we were in the first Place to enquire about. *The Waters under the Heavens* were now gathered together into their respective and distinct Places, and the dry Land appeared.

Dr.

Dr. *Burnet* towards the close of this Chapter has the following Passage.

“ Now these short Annotations upon the Account *Moses* gives us of the first Creation of things, seem to imply that it was not this sacred Author’s Design to represent the Beginning of the World exactly according to the Physical Truth (which would have been of no use to the common People, who were incapable of being made Philosophers) but to expound the first Originals of Things, after such a Method as might breed in the Minds of Men Piety, and a worshipping of the true God.

This has likewise been the Opinion of several other learned Men, and Mr. *Whiston* (whom all impartial Persons must allow to be a Gentleman of an uncommon Penetration) delivers his Opinion very freely upon this Head.

The Design of *Moses* (says he) the inspired Penman, or rather of that blessed Spirit which inspired him in this History of the Creation, were not the gratifying the Curiosity, or satisfying the philosophical Enquiries of a few elevated Minds, but of a more general and useful Nature; namely to inform the *Jews*, and the rest of the World, that all the visible Frame of Heaven and Earth, was neither existent from all Eternity, nor the Result of blind Chance, fatal Necessity, nor unaccountable Accident, but the Workmanship of God Almighty.

He goes on in this strain for several Pages, to which I shall refer the Reader*, where he will find some Passages very much resembling this Paragraph of Dr. *Burnet*’s.

“ Whereas the Heathen Accounts of the Creation were frequently stuffed with Fables, and I

* Introductory Discourse concerning the *Mosaic* Creation, page 82, 83, &c.

“ know

82 REMARKS, &c.

“ know not how many Gods and Goddeffes, he lay-
 “ ing aside all these Fooleries has handled this Sub-
 “ ject with a great deal of Purity and Innocence.
 “ When that he might tear up the very Roots of
 “ Idolatry he represented the Heavens, Sun, Moon,
 “ and Stars, which were the chief Deities of other
 “ Nations, not as eternal, or created on their own
 “ Account, but as subservient to this sublunary
 “ World, as well as to the Use of Mankind.

Thus much we have thought fit to offer in this
 Place, farther to illustrate our Author's *Critique* on
 the *Mosaic* CREATION.

REMARKS

O N

Archæologiæ Philosophicæ.

PART II. CHAP. I.

TH E Doctor opens this Work* with the
 following Position, viz. “ Whoever
 “ searches after the Doctrine of the An-
 “ cients, concerning the Origin of the Earth, ought
 “ to begin from the *primitive* CHAOS, as the first
 “ Matter or Seminary of this Nature, and the sub-
 “ lunary Orb. For this Notion was very prevail-
 “ ing among the most ancient wise Men, as well
 “ Divines as Poets, as among Philosophers of later
 “ Date. How

* Page 4.

REMARKS, &c. 83

How just this Assertion is will evidently appear, if we consider the following Examples:

First of all, the ancient *Greek* Poet *Hesiod*, who may contend for Antiquity with *Homer*, makes mention of it in his *Theogonia*, not far from the Beginning, in these Words:

Ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτις αὖτε Χάος ἦν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' ἐργύστερον πάντων ἔσθ'.

Chaos was first form'd by th' eternal Mind,
Next the wide Earth, the Seat of ev'ry Kind.

Mr. *Johnston*, in his Book of Natural Wonders *, quotes *Hermes's* Book, called *Divine Sermons*, for the following Opinion about the Creation. Infinite Darkneſs was ſpread over the Abyſs and the Waters; and an intelligent and ſublimiate Spirit by the Divine Powers, exiſted in the *Chaos*. An *holy Light* is immediately darted upwards, and all the Elements are gathered together and eſtabliſhed *below*. All the *Gods* are pleaſed with what is done, and they expreſs a Love and Fondneſs of the ſeminal Power of Nature. Things undiſtinguiſhed and confuſed before, are now ſeparated. The *light ones* riſe upwards, the *heavy* deſcend, being divided by Fire, and left in ſuſpenſe where to poſt themſelves, till the forementioned Spirit diſpoſes them. The *Heaven* is now diſtinguiſhed into *ſeven Circles*; *Gods* are now viſible in the Forms of many Stars, and in the Signs that attend them; and a diſtin& Circumference, (circumſcribed in the unbounded Air) is whirled about by the Power of the ſame *Divine Spirit*; and

* *Thaummatographia Naturalis. Classis 1. Artic. 2.*

84 REMARKS, &c.

all the Gods who belong to the Circumference are whirled about with it. Every God proceeds now to obey the Task that was laid on him, and produces by his own Power, whatever belongs to his Province, *viz.* four-footed Beasts, Fish, Reptiles, Volatiles, &c. Last of all, Man is formed, capable of apprehending and understanding the Divine Work and Architecture of the Gods.

*Ensebius** has preserved the following Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*, translated into Greek by *Philo Biblinus*, which in Mr. *Starley's* Translation runs thus. The Theology of the *Phœnicians* asserts the Principle of this World, to be a *dark spiritual Air*, or the Spirit of *dark Air*, and *Chaos* troubled and involved in Darkness; that this was infinite, and for a long time had no Bounds. But the Spirit being moved with the Love of its own Principles, there was made a great *Mixtion*, which was called *Love*; this was the *Beginning of the Production of all Things*; but the Spirit itself had no Generation. From this Connexion of the Spirit was begotten *Mot*†, which some call *Slime*, others Corruption of watry Mixture; and of this was made the Seed of all Creatures, and the Generation of all Things.

Berosus, quoted by Dr. *Cudworth*‡, writes thus: That there was a Time when all was Darkness and Water; but *Bell* (who is interpreted *Jupiter*) cutting the Darkness in the middle separated the Earth and Heaven from one another, and so framed the World: This *Bell* moreover produced the Stars, the Sun, the Moon, and the five Planets. *Aristophanes* sings of it thus:

First, all was Chaos, one confused Heap,
Darkness enwrapt the disagreeing Deep;

* De Præparat. Evangel. C. 10.

† Intellect. System. Chap. IV. 312.

‡ *Môr.*

In a mix'd Croud the jumbling *Atoms* were;
 Nor Earth, nor *Air*, nor Heaven did appear;
 Till on this horrid vast Abyfs of Things,
 Night pregnant spreading o'er her gloomy Wings,
 Laid the first Egg, whence, after *Time's* due course,
 Love issu'd forth the World's prolific Source
 Adorn'd with golden Wings; which flutt'ring o'er
 Dark *Chaos* gender'd all the numerous Store
 Of Animals and Gods. SMEDLEY.

This Fragment of *Aristophanes's* Play, called *The BIRDS*, is (says Dean *Smedley*, who has lately given us a curious Specimen of an *Universal View* of all the eminent Writers on the *Holy Scriptures*) quoted by *Lucian** and *Suidas*; and translated by Dr. *Cudworth*†, who believes it to be a Piece of the old Atheistic Cabala, which he explains thus: That Chaos or Matter confusedly moved was the Original of all; and that Things rose hence gradually from less to greater Perfection; first inanimate Things, as the Elements, *Heaven, Earth* and *Seas*; then *Brute Animals*; afterwards Men; and last of all the *Gods*. *Euripides* offers us this Description**:

One Figure first to Heaven and Earth was common,
 But when these Two were separate and receiv'd
 The comely Form, in which they now appear,

* In *Philopatride*.

† Intellectual System.

** In *Menalippe*, quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib 1.

86 *REMARKS, &c.*

Strait were the various Animals produc'd,
That fly aloft, and deck the arch'd Air,
Or tread the Ground, or stock the boundless Seas;
Trees next they form'd, and Lord of all Things
Man.

We shall next produce *Ennius*, who thus Philosophises upon the Creation.

*Corpore Tartarino, prognata Paluda virago
Quoi par Imber & Ignis, Spiritus & gravi Terra
Quaeq; Freto, Cava Coeruleo Cortina receptas
Quos omnes Erebo perhibent & Nocte Creatos.*

A manly Nymph from Water first arose
Which mixt with Tartar did her Frame compose;
The Ferment once commenc'd the Work was done;
The Nymph and the *four Elements* were one.
From her the Fowls, the Fish, the Beasts arise,
And all beneath the Circle of the Skies;
And these, and all things else, their Beings owe
To *Erebus*' nocturnal Womb below.

SMEDLEY.

The

REMARKS, &c. 87

The Reader may be very agreeably entertained if he peruses *Milton's* most elegant Description of the Creation in the VIIth Book of *PARADISE LOST*, viz.

I saw, when at his Word the formless Mass,
The World's material Mold came to a Heap:
Confusion heard his Voice, and wild Uproar
Stood rul'd; stood vast Infinitude confin'd;
Till at his second Bidding, Darkness fled,
Light shone, and Order from Disorder sprung, &c.

Doctor *Burnet* observes, " among the Philosophers some taught that a *Mind* presided over this confused Matter (called *Chaos*) and guided its Motions; while others asserted that it grew together by Chance into the Form of the World.

It is certain that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Trismegistus*, and many other of the ancient Philosophers believed the World to be indued with a rational Soul, being induced to that Opinion by the admirable Order and Connection of its Parts, which they conceived could not be sustained, but by a Soul intrinsically informing, ordering, disposing and connecting them. Hence *Virgil*, *Æn.* VI. v. 724.

Principio Cælum, ac Terras camposq; liquentes

Lucentemq; Globum Lune Titaniaq; Astra

Spiritus intus alit, totamq; infusa per Artus

Mens agitat Molem & magno se corpore miscet.

Know

88 REMARKS, &c.

Know first that Heaven and Earth's compacted Frame,
And flowing Waters, and the Starry Frame,
And both the radiant Lights one common Soul
Inspires; and feeds and animates the whole:
This active Mind infus'd thro' all the Space,
Unites and mingles with the mighty Mass.

DRYDEN.

So different were the Opinions of these great Men from that of *Epicurus*, who held, that *the World was made by a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms*: But his absurd Opinion is well confuted by *Cicero* *. Such a turbulent Concourse of Atoms could never (saith he) *hunc Mundi ornatum efficere*, compose so well ordered and beautiful a Structure as the World; which therefore, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, hath from thence (*ab ornatu & munditie*) obtained its Name. And again most fully and appositely in his second Book on the same Subject; if the Works of Nature are better, more exact and perfect than the Works of Art, and Art effects nothing without Reason, neither can the Works of Nature be thought to be effected without Reason; for is it not absurd and incongruous that when thou beholdest a Statue, or curious Picture, thou shouldst acknowledge that Art was used to the making of it; or when thou seest the Course of a Ship upon the Waters, thou shouldst not doubt but the Motion of it is regulated and directed by Reason and Art; or when thou considerest a Sun-Dial or Clock, thou shouldst

* De Natura Deorum, Lib. I.

understand presently, that the Hours are shewn by Art, and not by Chance; and yet imagine or believe that the World, which comprehends all these Arts and Artificers was made without Counsel or Reason? If one should carry into *Scythia* or *Britain* such a Sphere as our Friend *Possidonius* lately made, each of whose Conversions did the same thing in the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and other five *Planets*, which we see effected every Night and Day in the Heavens, who among those Barbarians would doubt that That Sphere was composed by Reason and Art?

A wonder then it must needs be, that there should be any Man found so stupid and forsaken of Reason, as to persuade himself that this most beautiful and adorned World was or could be produced by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms. He that can prevail with himself to believe this, I do not see why he may not as well admit, that if these were made innumerable Figures of the Alphabet, in Gold suppose, or any other Metal, and these well shaken and mixed together, and thrown down from some Places to the Ground, they, when lighted upon the Earth, would be so disposed and ranked that a Man might see and read in them *Ennius's* Annals; whereas it were a great Chance, if he should find one Verse thereof among them all: For if this Concourse of Atoms could make a whole World, why may it not sometimes make, and why hath it not somewhere or other in the Earth made a Temple, or a Gallery, or a Portico, or a House, or a City? Which it is yet so far from doing, and every Man so far from believing, that should any one of us be cast, suppose, on a desolate Island, and find there a magnificent Palace, artificially contrived according to the exactest Rules of Architecture, and curiously adorned and furnished, it would never once enter

g

into

into his Head, that this was done by an Earthquake, or the fortuitous Shuffling together of its competent Materials; or that it had stood there ever since the Construction of the World, or first Cohesion of Atoms; but would presently conclude, that there had been some intelligent Architect the Effect of whose Art and Skill it was. Or should he find there but one single Sheet of Parchment or Paper, an Epistle or Oration written full of profound Sense, expressed in proper and significant Words, illustrated and adorned with elegant Phrases, it were beyond the Possibility of the Wit of Man to persuade him that this was done by the temerarious Dashes of an unguided Pen, or by the rude Scattering of Ink upon the Paper, or by the lucky Projection of so many Letters at all Adventures; but he would be convinced by the Evidence of the Thing at first Sight, that there had been not only some Man, but some Scholar there.

Dr. Burnet observes, “ That no one except *Aristotle*, and some *Pseudo-Pythagoreans*, ever expressly asserted, that our World always, and from Eternity, existed under the same Form and Apparatus as it does now.

Dr. Clarke*, speaking of the Opinion of the Ancients concerning the *Eternity* of the *World* writes thus: Almost all the Old Philosophers who held the Eternity of the World, did not thereby mean (at least their Arguments do not tend to prove) that it was Independent and Self-existent, but their Arguments are wholly levelled, either to prove barely that something must needs be *eternal*, and that the Universe could not possibly arise out of Nothing, absolutely and without Cause; which is all that

* *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.* Propos. III. Page 30.

Ocellus Lucanus's Arguments amount to; or else that the World is an *eternal* and necessary Effect flowing from the essential and immutable Energy of the Divine Nature; which seems to have been *Aristotle's* Opinion: Or else that the World is an eternal voluntary Emanation from the All-wise and supreme Cause, which was the Opinion of many of *Plato's* Followers.

Infinite Power (says the Author) includes a Power of creating Matter. This has been constantly denied by all Atheists, both ancient and modern; and as constantly affirmed by all who believe the Being and have just Notions of the Attributes of God. The only Reason which the Atheists have, or can pretend to alledge for their Opinion is, that the thing is in its own Nature absolutely *impossible*. But how does it appear to be impossible? Why only because they are not able to comprehend how it can be. For to reduce it to a Contradiction (which is the alone real Impossibility) this they are by no means able to do. For to say that something, which once was not, may since have begun to exist, is neither directly, nor by any Consequence whatsoever to assert, that That which is not, can be, while it is not, or that That which is, cannot be while it is. It is true we who have been used to converse only with Generations and Corruptions; and never saw any thing *made*, or *created*, but only *formed* or *framed*, are apt to endeavour to conform our Idea of Creation to that of Formation, and to imagine, that as in all Formations there is some pre-existing Matter, out of which a thing is *formed*, so in *Creation* there must be considered a pre-existent Nothing, out of which, as out of a real *material* Cause, a Thing is created; which looks, indeed, somewhat like a Contradiction: But this is only a Confusion of Ideas; just like Children's imagining

92 *REMARKS, &c.*

that Darknefs is some real Thing, which in the Morning is driven away by the Light, or transformed into it. Whereas the true Notion of Creation, is not a *forming* Something *out* of Nothing, as out of a material Cause, but only a bringing Something into Being, that before had no Being at all; or a causing something to exist now, that did not exist before, or which without this Cause would not have existed; which no Man can ever reduce to a Contradiction, any more than the Formation of any Thing into a Shape which it had not before, can be reduced to a Contradiction.

That about the Space of 6000 Years since, the Earth was *without Form and void*, that is a *confused Chaos*, out of which God *framed* this beautiful and useful Fabric we now inhabit, and stocked it with Seeds of all Kinds of Plants, and formed upon it Man, and all other Species of Animals it is now furnished with, is also (says that learned Divine) agreeable to right Reason. For tho' the precise Time, indeed, when all this was done, could not now have been known exactly without Revelation, yet even at this Day, there are remaining many considerable and very strong rational Proofs which make it exceedingly probable (separate from the Authority of Revelation) that this present Frame and Constitution of the Earth, cannot have been of a very much longer Date. The universal Tradition delivered down from all the most ancient Nations of the World, both learned and barbarous, the constant and agreeing *Doctrine* of all ancient Philosophers and Poets, concerning the Earth's being formed within such a Period of Time, out of Water, or a *Chaos*; the manifold *Absurdities* and *Contradictions* of those few Accounts, which pretend to a greater Antiquity, the *Number of Men*, with which the Earth is at present inhabited; the *late Original of Learning*,
and

and all useful Arts and Sciences; the Impossibility that Deluges or other Accidents should at certain long Periods have oft-times destroyed far the greatest Part of Mankind, with the Memory of all former Actions and Inventions, and yet never have happened to destroy them all; the Change that must necessarily fall out in the Earth in vast length of time, by the sinking and washing down of Mountains, the Consumption of Water by Plants, and innumerable other like Accidents; these, I say, and many more Arguments, drawn from Nature, Reason, and Observation, make that Account of the Earth's Formation exceedingly probable in itself, which, from the Revelation delivered in Scripture History, we believe to be certain.

* M. Bayle tells us, That *the Opinion of the World's being the Product of God*, is embarrassed with several considerable Difficulties; first because we have no Idea, how a *Nothing* from all Eternity can be made to exist. Secondly, as there is no Succession in the Duration of God, it is very difficult to conceive how the World should be created in Time, for if Time began with the Existence of Creatures, it inevitably follows, that *Time* could not precede their Existence, and that Creatures are not separated from Eternity, but by an indivisible Point, which cannot sufficiently distinguish an *eternal Being*, from a temporary Production. If it be answered, that the World is the Work of God, only with Respect to its *Form*, and that Matter existed from Eternity, as a passive Subject of all the Operations of God, and as a collateral Principle; this involves us in the most impious and absurd Suppositions imaginable. Our Author therefore omits these Disquisitions, and

* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lett. Des. 1685. See, His Account of a French Book On the Creation.

94 REMARKS, &c.

supposes with all orthodox Divines, that God created Matter, and gave to it all its different Forms and Modifications, according to the manner which we read of in the first Chapter of *Genesis*. It would certainly be a Pleasure and Satisfaction to the Mind if we could discover what Art, and what Laws of Motion reduced the vast and formless Mass of *Matter*, which we call *Chaos*, into this beautiful and perfect System of the World. It must be owned, that the *Mosaical* Account, how perfect soever it is, with respect to the Degree of Knowledge, which God thought proper to communicate to us, is by no means exact, if we regard those Methods and Precepts, which the learned prescribe to a good Historian. But perhaps we do not affix the same Ideas to the Terms of *Moses* that he intended; and consequently it is the Fault of our own Weakness whenever we find that he gives the same Name to different Things. Besides he is so concise in his Narration, that he takes up less Paper in describing the Formation of the Universe, than our Writers employ in the Description of a little Palace. However we must acknowledge that this inspired Writer is surprisingly grand and sublime; and we may justly say of his Expressions, what the *Egyptian* Magicians said of his Miracles, *There is the Finger of God in them*. His Design was not to satisfy the Curiosity of every natural Philosopher; why then should these Gentlemen expect to find in his Writings every thing they desire? The *Cartesians* indeed value themselves prodigiously, because they imagine that he favours their Doctrines; as appears by a Book printed at *Leewarden* some Years ago, entitled *Moses explained by Des Cartes*; and by another *Physical Treatise* concerning the *Creation* of the World, published by *M. Mallement de Messange*, at *Paris*, 1679. *M. Bayle* is of the same Opinion, and explains

plains the Account of the *Creation*, according to the Principles of M. *Des Cartes*.

It may not be improper to close this Article with an Account of the Opinion of the old *Manichees*, concerning the *Powers* which created the *World*, who, as Dean *Smedley* observes, tho' they derived their Name from one *Manes*, yet nevertheless owed their Philosophy to the ancient *Persian Zoroaster*.

The *Manicheans* maintained * two Co-eternal Principles to be the Cause of all Things: The one Good, the other Bad. The Good, *Zoroaster* termed *Oromazes*, the Bad *Arimanius*. He asserted, that these two Principles had two different Analogies, the Good to Light, the Bad to Darkness. He said, that they had continual Variance and Strife with each other; that by this means all Things in Nature were confounded, and remained in a perpetual *Chaos* and Disorder.

At length these two contending Principles, tired and weary of their Discord and Controversies; and displeased to behold nothing but this *Chaos* and Confusion of their own making, wherein one destroyed what the other had established, and the other overthrew what he again had built: They at last came to an Agreement, each of them yielded something to the other; each of them had a share in the Production of Man, and in the Laws to be prescribed in the Union between his Soul and Body.

Upon this Partition the *Good Principle* obtained the privilege of procuring to Man a thousand Felicities and Pleasures from those Laws; but then he consented to leave him exposed to a thousand Sorrows also from the same Laws; and if he consented that *Moral Good* should be found infinitely less in

* See M. *Bayle's* Dictionary in the Article *Manicheans*.

96 REMARKS, &c.

Mankind than *Moral Evil*, he repaired the Damage in some other Kind of Creatures, wherein Vice should be much less than Virtue. For since a great Part of Mankind labour under the Pressure of numberless Evils and Misfortunes, and enjoy a very small Proportion of Pleasure, the *Manicheans* are of Opinion that these Miseries which they have suffered in an human Shape, shall be sufficiently compensated to them under another Form. By means of this Agreement the *Chaos* was a *Passive-Principle*, and the Field of Battle between those Two *Active-Ones*.

CHAP. II.

OUR Author herein Discourses concerning the *Form* of the *Primogenial Earth*, and the *three fold State* of the *World*; as to the former: He thinks, “ That the Earth could not from the Beginning, have been constituted in the same Form wherein it now appears, because of the Mountains and Rocks, and the Channel of the Sea, and the like Inequalities, which could not arise from Chaos, or the Superfices of that fluid Mass. It must therefore (says he) necessarily follow, that the Primogenial Earth must have been of a different Form and Face from that which now appears. On this single Point the whole System depends, and when this Conclusion is proved the Case remains impregnable.

As the Doctor has treated much more largely on this Head in the third Chapter, the Consideration of it may properly be deferred till we come to make
I some

some Remarks thereon: what seems more immediately to be the Scope of this Chapter is the three-fold State of the *World* grounded upon two celebrated Passages of St. *Paul**, and St. *Peter*†.

That there was a primitive State of Innocence and Purity, is generally agreed on, and that the *Creature* (to use a Phrase of the Apostle's) is now made *subject to Vanity*, is a Truth which will scarcely be denied by those who have a melancholy Experience of it.

And that there shall also be a future Dissolution of this World, and a consequent Renovation, has been the Doctrine of the most eminent Writers, as well sacred as prophane.

This Notion was so certain and clear among the ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, that *Origen*‡ observed it had never been called in Question by any of the Heretics of those Days, who yet had presumed to contradict all the other Articles of the Christian Faith||.

** *Irenæus* concludes, that the World will last but six thousand Years, from the Similitude of the six Days Creation, after which six Days was the Sabbath, that is the Day of Rest.

“ This is (says he) both a Narration or History
“ of what is past, and a Prophecy of Things to
“ come: For one Day signified a thousand Years,
“ as the Scriptures testify, *A thousand Years in the*

* Rom. viii. 19, 20, &c: † 2 Pet. iii. ‡ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν.

|| See this Subject handled more at large in Mr. *Ray's* *THREE Physico-Theological Discourses*.

** Adv. Hæres. Lib. V. Hoc autem est & prætorum Narratio & futurorum Prophetia. Dies enim unus mille Annos significabat sicut Scriptura testatur *Mille Anni ante Dominum sicut Dies unus*; ergo sicut consummatus fuit Mundus in sui Creatione intra sex Dierum Spatium, & postea Quies; sic in sui fine consummabitur intra Spatium sex Millium Annorum, deinde vera & perpetua Quies subsequetur.

98 REMARKS, &c.

“ *Sight of God are as but one Day*; therefore as the
 “ World at the first Creation was consummated in
 “ the Space of six Days, and afterwards followed
 “ the Sabbath or Rest; so in the End its Duration
 “ shall be consummated within the Space of six
 “ thousand Years, and then shall follow the true
 “ and perpetual Rest.

The Heathen Philosophers also bear Witness to this Restitution of the World after the Conflagration, as our Author has abundantly shewn in his Theory of the Earth *, and thither I shall refer the Reader.

But the most beautiful Descriptions of this Renovation of the World, are to be met with in the sacred Scriptures; to enumerate them would be unnecessary and tedious; yet it may be proper to transcribe a few of the most remarkable.

The Heavens and the Earth, which are now by the Word of God, are kept in Store, reserved unto Fire, against the Day of Judgment, and Perdition of ungodly Men †.

The Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Element shall melt with fervent Heat; the Earth also, and the Works that are therein, shall be burnt up ‡.

*The Lord shall war out of Sion, and utter his Voice from Jerusalem, and the Heavens and the Earth shall shake **,*

Behold I create new Heavens and a new Earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind ††.

Whom the Heavens must reserve until the Time of the Restitution of all Things, which God hath spoken by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets since the World began.

* 2 Pet. iii. 7.

** Isa. lxxv. 17.

† Verse 10,

†† Acts iii. 21,

‡ Joel iii. 16.

REMARKS, &c. 99

I saw a new Heaven, and a new Earth; for the first Heaven and the first Earth were passed away, and there was no more Sea.*

The Gates of the new Jerusalem shall not be shut at all by Day; for there shall be no Night there†.

It may here be asked, whether shall the World be wholly consumed or annihilated, or only refined or renewed, since the Scriptures thus mention the Earth's being burnt up, &c.

The latter seem more probable, as well from those Places of Scripture last quoted, as from many others; particularly that of St. Peter‡, *Nevertheless we according to his Promise look for new Heavens and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.*

The Restitution of the World (says the admirable Mr. Ray) seems more consonant to Reason, than its Abolition. For if the World were to be annihilated, what needed a Conflagration? Fire does not destroy or bring Things to nothing, but only separates their Parts. The World cannot be abolished by it, and therefore had better been annihilated without it. Wherefore the Scripture mentioning no other Dissolution, than is to be effected by the Instrumentality of Fire, its clear, we are not to understand any utter Abolition or Annihilation of the World, but only a Mutation or Renovation, by these Phrases of *perishing, passing away, dissolving, being no more, &c.* They are to be no more in that State and Condition they are now in.

There must be a material Heaven and a material Hell left. A Place for the glorified Bodies of the blessed to inhabit and converse in, and a Place or Prison for condemned Spirits to be shut up in. Now if the Place of the Blessed be an empyreal Heaven, far above these visible Heavens, as Divines

* Revel. xxi. 1.

† Verse 25.

‡ 2 Pet. iii. 13.

generally

100 REMARKS, &c.

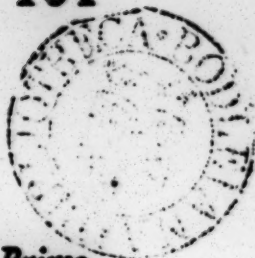
generally hold; and the Place of the Damned be beneath about the middle of the Earth, as is the Opinion of the School-men, and as the word *Inferi* imports, and as the ancient Heathens described their *Tartarus*, then when all the intermediate Bodies shall be annihilated, what a strange Universe shall we have? consisting of an immense Ring of Matter, having in the middle a vast Vacuity, or Space, void of all Body, save only one small Point for an infernal Dungeon. Those who are of this Opinion have too narrow and mean Thoughts of the Greatness, I had almost said Immensity of the Universe, the glorious and magnificent Product of the Creator's Almighty Power; and are too partial to themselves to think the whole World was created for no other End but to be serviceable to Mankind: For they say Man being removed out of the World, we cannot imagine to what purpose the Frame it self should be left.

To this I answer, there may be an End of the Restoring of the World, tho' we are not able to find out or determine what we are too short-sighted to penetrate, the Designs of God. There may be a new Race of rational Animals brought forth to act their Parts upon this Stage, which may give the Creator as much Glory as Man ever did.

And yet if there should be no material and visible rational Creatures made to inhabit the Earth, there are spiritual and intellectual Beings, which may be as busy and as much delighted in searching out and contemplating the Works of God in this new Earth, and rendring him the Praise of his Wisdom and Power, as Man could be.

And this may suffice to set Dr. *Burnet's* Notion of the Renovation of the World, in the fairest Light.

CHAP. III.



IN this Chapter the Doctor treats of the *Primogenial Earth's* principal Differences from the *present one*. And refers us to the Sentiments of ancient Writers.

We find our Author's Opinion was, " That the
" *Primogenial Earth* was every where smooth, and of
" an equal Superficies, without Mountains, Rocks,
" or Caverns, without any Sea or marine Whirl-
" pool; that it had such a right Proportion to-
" wards the Sun, or was so stretched out in a pa-
" rallel Line to the Axis of the Ecliptic, that it
" had no Inequality of Seasons, but was blest with
" a perpetual Spring.

As a Consequence of this Notion, he reckons this present Globe to be a disorderly Pile of Ruins, in which we are to lead a short and laborious Life.

Our Author in this not only goes contrary to the general Apprehensions of the common People, but differs also from most other learned Men who have written on this Head.

Dr. *Woodward* in his Natural History of the Earth, being about to give some Hints concerning that Contrivance, which was shewn in the Structure of the Globe we dwell upon, says thus: I am indeed well aware, that the Author of the Theory of the Earth (Dr. *Burnet*) differs very much from me in Opinion as to this Matter. He will not allow that there are any such Signs of Art and Skill in the Make of the present Globe, and is very unwilling to believe that it was the Product of any reasoning or designing Agent. The Channel of the Ocean appears to him *the most ghastly thing in Nature*, and he

he cannot at all admire its *Beauty* or *Elegancy*; for it is in his Judgment as deformed and irregular, as it is great. Then for the Mountains, *these*, he says, are placed in no Order, that can either respect *Use* or *Beauty*, and do not consist of any Proportion of Parts that is referable to any Design, or that hath the least Footsteps of Art or Counsel. In fine he thinks there are several things in the terraqueous Globe that are *rude* and *unseemly*, and many that are superfluous.

Now tho' it were really so, that there were some such Eye-sores in our Earth as are here suggested, and that we could not presently find out all the Gayeties and Embellishments that we might seek for in it, the matter would not be great, and we might very well be contented to take it as we find it. But after all the thing is, in truth, quite otherwise, and there are none of all these wanting, nor any such Deformities as are here imagined; but on the contrary, so very many real Graces and Beauties, that it is no easy thing to overlook them all. Even this very Variety of Sea and Land, of Hill and Dale, which is here reputed so inelegant and unbecoming, is indeed extremely charming and agreeable.

Of the same Opinion is the learned Mr. Ray*. The present Face of the Earth (says he) with all its Mountains and Hills, its Promontories and Rocks, as rude and deformed as they appear, seems to me a very beautiful and pleasant Prospect, and with all that Variety of Hills, and Vallies, and Inequalities, far more grateful to behold than a perfectly level Country without any Rising or Protuberancy to terminate the Sight.

* See his Discourse on the Primitive Chaos and Creation of the World.

In our future Observations on the *third* and last Part of the *ARCHÆOLOGIÆ* (which contains *Dr. BURNET's Enquiry into the Doctrine of the Philosophers of all Nations concerning the ORIGIN of the WORLD*) we shall enlarge upon the Subject of *Mountains, &c.* and finish what we have farther to offer on the remaining Chapters of this *Treatise*.

It only now remains for me to account why, for the most part, I have chosen to select these *Remarks* from the Works of diverse celebrated Writers, than to give him my own thoughts on these important Heads.

(1.) I took this method, because it was impossible for me to handle these Subjects so accurately as they have done. (2.) Where the Doctor's Notions were to be opposed, or any surprising Phenomenon to be accounted for, what comes from Authors who have been, or now are famous for Learning and Judgment, is like to be more regarded than the Opinion of an obscure Person, who could rejoice to spend his Days at the Feet of so eminent a *Divine* as *Dr. Burnet*, and with a mighty Pleasure be continually receiving Instruction from such admirable Men, as the Commentators here produced.

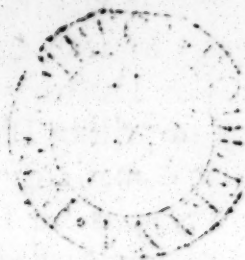
I take the following Sentiment of *Elihu*, to be equally just and beautiful, *I am young, and ye are very old, wherefore I was afraid and durst not shew you mine Opinion. I said Days should speak, and multitude of Years should teach Wisdom* *.

Yet I have not so absolutely confined my self to the Authorities of these great Men, but that I have sometimes ventured to offer my own Thoughts, as particularly with regard to the *Fall of Man*, and his Ejection from the *Garden of Eden*.

* *Job xxxii. 6, 7.*

104 *REMARKS, &c.*

. In a Word, if while I have been contemplating the Beauties of *Paradise* and *Elysium*, I have presented the Reader with a Wreath of smiling Flowers, I believe he will not complain, because it was not the Product of my own Garden. And if he be enabled by these Remarks to peruse so curious and valuable an Author, as Dr. *Burnet*, with fresh Pleasure and greater Profit, I shall not be out of Humour, tho' some Critics censure me, since with Reference to these Annotations I aspire to no higher a Character than that of a careful and well-meaning Collector.



October 3.
1728.

T. FOXTON.

Dr. BURNET's
THEORY
OF THE
VISIBLE WORLD;
By way of
COMMENTARY
ON HIS OWN
THEORY *of the* EARTH.

BEING

The *Second Part* of his ARCHÆOLOGICÆ
PHILOSOPHICÆ, faithfully Translated;
With REMARKS thereon.

By Mr. F O X T O N.

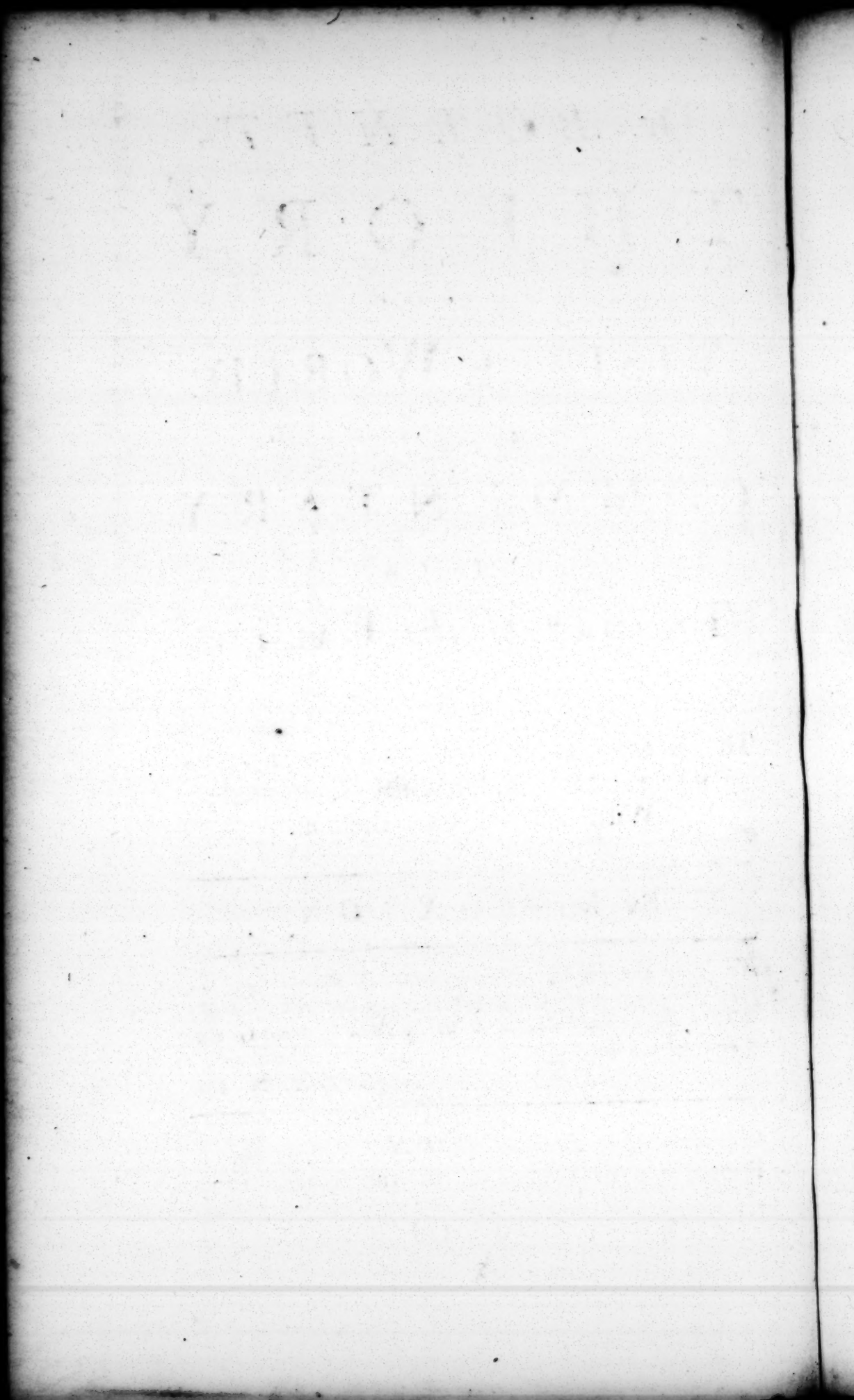
*We know the highest Pleasure our Minds are capable
of enjoying with Composure, when we read sublime
Thoughts communicated to us by Men of great Genius
and Eloquence.*

SPECT. N° 146.

L O N D O N:

Printed for E. CURLL, in the Strand, 1729.

(Price 3s.)



Archæologiæ Philosophicæ :

OR, THE

Philosophical Principles of Things.

C H A P. I.

The Introduction, and Contents of the Second Book. The universal Tradition concerning the ancient CHAOS, and its Motions in general.

THE THEORY of the EARTH having been lately published, entirely drawn from its own Causes, as from the Bowels of Nature : It is now thought proper to confirm it by the Authority and Testimonies of the *Ancients*, that so nothing may be wanting to the Work which we have proposed. But we must not hope for the same Integrity, Connection and Order of Parts, in those Extracts we have now to make from the *Ancients*, in this Argument, as we found in the Composition of that *Theory*. We will however gather together those Parts which have been rent and scattered ; the Head,

4 ARCHÆOLOGIA PHILOSOPHICÆ.

the Trunk, and principal Members, which lie hid among the rough and obscure Remains of Antiquity.

We have before shewn in the former Part of that Work *, that several Heads of this *Theory* lay concealed in the Monuments of Antiquity. Omitting therefore, or but lightly touching on those Points which we have there treated of, we shall in this Tract produce what remains farther to be spoken of, and again reinforced from the same Ancients. The Reader may observe that this Discourse is two-fold; for as in the *preceeding Book* it was our Design to run over all the learned Nations, and produce their respective Philosophy and Opinions as well with regard to the great World, as the sublunary One; and regarding as well the *Heavens* as the *Earth*, and the *Originals* of them *Both*: So now in this *second Book* it is our Design to treat only of the *Earth*, and we shall diligently enquire what Hints the Ancients have left us concerning its Rise and primæval Form. Now, if I mistake not, there are yet some considerable ones remaining, as we shall shew in the following Examples.

He that is searching after the Doctrine of the Ancients concerning the *Origin* of the *Earth*, ought to begin from the primitive *Chaos*, as the first Matter or Seminary of this Nature, and the sublunary Orb. Now the Notion of the old *Chaos* was very prevailing among the most ancient wise Men, as well Divines as Poets, as among Philosophers of later Date. And this

* See *The Theory of the Earth*, B. II. c. 8.

Doctrine flowed in on every Side, from the *Barbarians* to the *Grecians*, from the *Grecians* to the *Romans*, and thence through all *Nations*. For no one, except *Aristotle*, and some spurious *Pythagoreans*, ever expressly asserted that our World always, and from Eternity, existed under the same Form and Apparatus as it does now. But all wise Men have unanimously delivered this Opinion, that all That, which we call the Globe of Earth, and the habitable World, was formerly a shapeless Mass, confused, and turbulent, called *Chaos*, which was as it were the Rudiment of the World which was to rise out of it.

For the length of Time has not as yet extinguished the Knowledge of the Beginning of Things; Mankind have not yet forgotten their own Original: The Remembrance of those Things which had been but lately brought forth, was very fresh among the Ancients. And we may find the Reliques of a primitive *Chaos* among them all; we may meet with them among the *Jews*, *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, *Persians*, *Greeks* and *Latins*: By which they testify that the World formerly had a Beginning, and drew its Original from confused and indigested Matter. And since this is the very Basis of the above-mentioned Theory of the Earth, it will be worth while to collect and explain the Opinions and Suffrages of the Ancients about this Matter.

Since there are no Writings more ancient than those of *Moses*, we will begin with Him, who was the great Prophet and Legislator of the *Jews*. He deduces the Originals of the Earth from *Chaos*, or a confused and dark State of terrestrial Matter, which he calls *Tohu*, *Bohu*; now that this

has the same Signification as the *Chaos* of the Philosophers, is very evident from the Nature of the Thing it self, and the Consent of Interpreters, as well *Jewish* * as *Christian*. And I believe the Apostle has a regard to the *Mosaic Chaos*, when he says †, *That the Things which are seen, were not made of Things which do appear*. By those Things which are *seen* he means the *Visible World*, as it now offers it self to our Eyes. And those Things which do not appear (μὴ φαινόμενα) are the same with what we find mentioned concerning the *Mosaic Chaos* §, and are rendered by the *seventy Interpreters*, whom the Apostles usually follow, ἀόρατα. Therefore the Apostle's Expression here, teaches us that this *Visible World* arose from a blind and shapeless Matter, according to the Description which *Moses* has given us.

As to the Christian Expositors the greater Part of them tell us that the *Mosaic Tohu, Bohu*; signifies the same as the *Grecian* or *Barbarian Chaos*. Or rather, it is their Opinion that this Notion was surreptitiously taken from the Writings of *Moses*, and interpolated by the Heathen Philosophers and drest up in diverse Manners, true, or disguised. But we are not here enquiring concerning its Original, which may rather be referred to *Noah* and his Sons. It is sufficient for our present Purpose, to manifest its Authority and Reception among all Nations where Literature prevailed.

* Vid. Man. Ben. Isr. de Creat. Jē. Abarban, de amore Dei. Dial. 2, & 3. Maimon. Mor. Nev. Pars. 2. C. 26, & 30.
 † Heb. xi. 3. § Gen. i. 2.

These few Observations may be sufficient, as to the *Jews* and *Christians*, and the *Mosaical Chaos* *. Let us now proceed to foreign Nations and their *Chaos*; which they have handled in a different Manner. For some have treated of it plainly and physically, as the Philosophers used to do: Others, in their Accounts of the *Origin* of the *Gods*, have set it forth in a mystical Manner. Now the *Chaos* is the Root and Foundation of all ARCHÆOLOGY, as to both Sorts of Writers. *Aristotle* has justly observed †, that according to the Opinion of Divines, all Things were produced out of *Night*; according to the Doctrine of Philosophers, all Things were mixed together. These two Notions tend to one Purpose, and explain the same Thing, by various Names: For all Things were mixed in the *Chaos* or Chaotical-Night. And *Aristotle* has rightly distinguished the Divines from the Philosophers; and taken Notice of the different Methods by which they have explained the *Originals* of Things. But we must farther observe, that among these Philosophers some taught that a *Mind* presided over this confused Matter, and guided its Motions; while others asserted, that it grew together by *Chance*, into the Form of the World. Both of these, you see, together with the Divines, placed the Originals of our Things in a certain *Chaos*.

But to proceed in our present Design, the neighbouring *Phenicians* chimed in with the *Jews* §,

* See *The Theory of the Earth*. B. II. C. 8. § 1.

† *Metaphys. Lib. xiv. c. 6.*

§ *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. C. 10.*

and formed to themselves a *Chaos*, as from which Things came. The *Theology* of the *Phenicians*, says *Philo Biblius*, from *Sanchoniathon*, makes the dark *Air* and turbulent *Chaos* to be the Beginning of all Things. The *Egyptians* also believed that this Jumble, and miscellaneous Heap of Elements was the first State of Things, and the Introduction to the World then about to be brought forth.

Diodorus Siculus thus gives us their Opinion *. According to the Constitution of the Universe from the Beginning, Heaven and Earth had one Idea, their Natures being mixed ; but afterwards, these Bodies being separated the one from the other, the World received all that Order which is now visible in it. In like Manner the *megale logos*, said to be written by *Trismegistus*, has followed the *Egyptian* Philosophy, and takes Notice of the *Abyss* and *Chaos*, and that all Things rose from those Beginnings.

There is no need of mentioning the *Greeks* and *Latins* : *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Menander*, *Aristophanes*, *Euripides*, and the *Composers* of the *Epic Cycle*, have sung the ancient *Chaos*. Besides, among the *Grecian* Philosophers, the *Ionics* and Followers of *Plato*, draw the Frame of this World out of a *confused Mass*. The *Stoics* appointed their Periods and Renovations from *Chaos* to *Chaos*. I pass by the *Latins*, *Ennius*, *Varro*, *Ovid*, *Lucretius*, *Statius* and Others. In a Word, all they who believe the *Generation* of this *World*, of whatever Sect or Nation, begin their Disposition from *rude Matter*.

* *Bibl. Hist.* c. i.

It is moreover to be observed, That those among the Ancients who have written an Account of the *Generation* of the *World*, have always acknowledged a *Chaos*, and laid it as the Foundation of the Work. And they who have composed Histories of the *Origin* of the *Gods*, began their *Mythology* from the same *Chaos*; for that the History of the *Origin* of the *Gods*, and the *Generation* of the *World*, signified the same Thing among the Ancients, is evident, not only from *Hesiod* and other *Greek* Authors; but also among other Nations, from the Example of the *Persians*, who being about to perform sacred Rites, sung a History of the *Origin* of the *Gods*. *Herodotus* gives us an Account * of the Manner of the *Persian* Sacrifices. " Having spread, says he, " the softest Herbs on the Place, and especially the " *Trefoil*, they lay the conscious Victim upon it: And adds, " When the Sacrifice is thus deposited, the " Priest standing by, sings the *Origin* of the *Gods*.

Now since the *Persians* worshipped not only the Sun, but also the Elements, Fire, Water, and Earth, and esteemed them to be Gods, it follows from thence, that their Theogony and Cosmogony were all one; that is, the Originals of the *Persian* Deities were the same with those of the Elements and worldly Bodies. It was indeed a common Error among the Ancients, that they affirmed their Gods were *Born*, to use an Expression of *Cicero's*; and gave the same Beginnings to their Gods, and the World. Either they feigned that their Deities sprung from Matter, or at least that they were not eternal, without any Beginning.

* In CLIO, cap. 132.

But as many as drew their Gods out of *Chaos*, much more brought our *Earth* from the same Original, whose Nativity they celebrated, in their Histories of the *Origin* of the Gods. Now since we every where meet with such Histories among the Ancients, we may conclude, that this Opinion, concerning the Rise of all things from *Chaos*, was received among them, as a general Oracle. Nor will it be here improper to take Notice of some Histories of the Origin of the Gods, which we find among ancient Writers; since they will be proper Witnesses to the Truth of this Assertion. We have already taken Notice of the *Persian Theogony*. *Ariftheas Proconnesius* is likewise said to have written an Account of the *Origin* of the Gods *: He flourished in the Days of *Cyrus*, and composed a History concerning the Northern *Arimaspians*, which has been taken Notice of by many; *Orpheus* has likewise written on this Subject; as *Cedrenus* relates from *Timotheus*, an ancient Author: Now that this Theogony was the same with the Cosmogony, evidently appears from those Fragments, or Imitations of *Orpheus* which yet remain. In like manner, the Authors of the *Epic Cycle*, whom we have several Times taken Notice of, begin from the Mixture of Heaven and Earth, and from thence proceed to the Generation of the Gods, and the Rise of the World. Nor indeed, was the Theogony of the Ancients any other than Physical Theology, such as *Varro* composed according to the Account of St. *Augustin* †. And after the same Manner I understood the Theogony of *Emilius Macer*, mentioned by *Macrobius* ||, why should I mention the most ancient

* Suid. in voc. † Civ. D. Lib. vi. c. 2. || Saturn. 2. Account

Account of the *Origin* of the *Gods*, written by *Museus*, or that composed by *Epimenides*, both which are taken Notice of by *Laertius*? We meet, in *Fulgentius*, with an Account of the Theogony of *Dromocydes*, or *Dromocrides* * (a Man otherwise unknown to me) and many other Treatises of the Ancients, concerning the Gods, resembling those which were written concerning the Original of the Deities. Moreover, as for Cosmogonies or Descriptions of the Origin of the World, we have already † taken Notice of one written by *Thamyras* of *Thrace*, and another by *Linus*, two of the most ancient Greek Poets. But that composed by *Hermes* or *Trismegistus*, which we meet with among the *Ægyptians*, and is mentioned by *Philo Biblius*, is certainly the most ancient of all, excepting the *Mosaical* one §. *Leo* the Jew, or *J. Abrabanel* cites *Pronapides* concerning the Protocosm, or first World, and produces many Things from thence concerning the *Chaos* and *Origin* of the *World*. Lastly, We have in *Virgil* || certain Descriptions of the Formation of the World, by *Silenus* and *Atlas*, two most ancient Names: The former indeed ends in Fables, according to the Manner of the ancient Cosmogonies. The latter is more pure, as it was sung to the Harp at the Feast prepared by Queen *Dido*.

——— *Docuit quæ maximus Atlas,
Unde Hominum Genus & Pecudes unde Imber & Ignis.*

——— *Iöpas* brought,
His golden Lyre, and sung what ancient *Atlas* taught.

* Mythol. Lib. ii. c. 17.

† Page 161.

§ Euseb. Præp. Ev. Lib. i. c. 10. •

|| Eclog. vi. *Æn.* i.

The

The various *Labours* of the wand'ring *Moon*,
 And whence proceed th' *Eclipses* of the *Sun*.
 Th' *Original* of *Men* and *Beasts* ; and whence
 The *Rains* arise, and *Fires* their Warmth dispense,
 And fix'd and erring *Stars* dispose their Influence. }
 DRYDEN.

Hitherto we have proved, by a two-fold Argument, that it was the Opinion of the ancient wise Men, that the *Original* of *Things* was from *Chaos* : And this was constantly taught as well by their Divines and Poets, in their Theogonies and Cosmogonies, which were mingled with fabulous Accounts, as by their Philosophers, who plainly delineated it by their Physical *Chaos*. Let none therefore henceforth contend with us as to this Part of the *Theory* of the *Earth* ; since we require nothing but what is confirmed both by Sacred and Prophane Authority. The Truth of this likewise appears from Nature and sound Reason, since the Phænomenas of this present Earth cannot otherwise be explained or deduced from any different Principles.

Having therefore laid down this as a Foundation, we must next enquire what Changes the Ancients have assigned in this *Chaos* ; and what *new Forms*, by whose intervening, it passed from a confused Heap to a habitable World. For Worlds are not made at one Stroke, like Statues cast in a Mould : But Nature extricates her self by a continual Action and slow Progress, and by Degrees rolls out of that irregular State, and strives to obtain Order and Beauty ; for first, there arises a Strife and Contention in the whole Mass, from the Confusion and Mixture of dissimilar Parts. Then from this Contention there
 springs

springs a Retirement and Separation of the jarring Elements; by which means the earthly *Chaos* was divided into various Orbs, and as into so many Rooms, or Stories, of elementary Bodies built one upon the other. Antiquity seems to have pointed out this; thus *Orpheus*,

Πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαῖς χάος μελήφατον ὕμνον,
Ὡς ὠπαμειψέ φύσεις— τε δ' ἰκεῖνι Τάλλον' ἀπ' ἀλλεῖ.

First, the melodious Song of ancient *Chaos*,
How Nature *there* was chang'd,
And all the jarring Elements divided.

Thus *Orpheus*, in his *Chaology*, or Explication of the World's rising out of *Chaos*, has sung the various Changes, Secretions, and diverse Faces, which that Mass, at sundry times, had undergone, till it came into the Form of an habitable World. Now this is the same thing as to write a *Cosmogony*. We have delineated in its proper Colours this Face of rising Nature, in the *first Part* of the *Theory* * which the Reader may do well to inspect, that so the Image of it may be fresh before his Eyes, and give him a more exact Idea of it. He will there first of all see the *Chaos* out of which this World was formed, entire and undivided, and deformed throughout, or *Tohu, Bohu*. And then divided into proper Regions as so many different *Strata*. And lastly, after a Concretion made, he may view it disposed and wrought into a habitable Globe.

We have before observed that there was Strife and Contention, in the first *Chaos*, from the

Mixture of different and jarring Elements. The Ancients have frequently taken Notice of the same Thing, especially *Empedocles* which he signified by his *νείκη*, or Strife and Enmity: Which he asserts to be the first Principle in Nature, and the Formation of Things. I think this of *Hesiod* is plainly to be understood in the same Sense,

Τὴν δ' εἰρηνὴν πρότερον μὲν ἐγένετο Νύξ ἐρεβεννὴ

'Twas gloomy Night that first begot this Strife.

By Night here, we are to understand the *Chaos*; since they both usually signify the same Thing, among the Mythologists: But as to *Empedocles*, the case is manifest. Nor did the Harp of *Orpheus* give a different Sound, when he rehearsed his old Song, to delight his *Argonauts*. *

Ἡεὶ δ' ὥς γὰρ καὶ ἐρεβεννὴ ἦτορ θάλασσα
το πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μὴ συναρηρηγτα μορφῇ
Νείκε' ἐξ ὁλοοῖο δ' ἐκέρθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα.

He sung how *Heaven, Earth, Sea*, at first were join'd,
And wore *one* Form, where various Sorts combin'd;
Then from this Strife was *Separation* made,
And every Part in proper Order laid

Upon which Place the Scholiast makes this Remark, *Empedocles* says, that all Things being in *Confusion* at first, the *Discord* and *Amity* being set aside, brought about the *Separation*; for with-

out these, nothing could possibly have been produced:

The Reader may observe from these Authors, that the *Formation* of the *World* was begun by *Strife*, and perfected by *Love*. So that after this *Strife*, or *Contention*, *two* or *more* Elements united on the Face of the Waters: And from that Embrace, which is ascribed to *Love*, the habitable World was begotten. This Mythological or Allegorical Account of the Ancients, concerning the *Rise* of *all Things* out of *Chaos*, will be clearly understood by those who shall compare it with that *Philosophical History* of the *Origin* of the *Earth*, which we have delivered in the *first Part* of the *Theory* *, and which indeed has been done more largely in the *second* †. Now lest we should be thought tedious, by repeating the same Things, we refer the Reader to that Place.

This may suffice, as to a *brief Description* of the *Chaos*.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the FORM of the *Primo-genial Earth*, and the *threefold State* of the *World*.

Hitherto we have discoursed concerning the *Origin* of the *Earth*, out of the *first CHAOS*; and that after its various Motions and Metamor-

* Chap. v.

† Chap. viii.

phoses.

phoses. For as little Creatures are wont to pass from an *Egg*, or a *Worm*, into one and another Sort of *Insects*, till they have gained the last *Shape*; so this habitable World was made out of *Chaos*, after various Mutations and transitory Forms. In the next place, we are to enquire what was the Form and Superficies of this *Primogenial Earth*, when it was first composed out of the *Chaos*? Whether it was the same as it bears at present, or not. I answer, that the *Earth* could not from the Beginning have been constituted in the same Form wherein it now appears, because of the Mountains and Rocks, and the Channel of the Sea, and the like Inequalities, which could not arise from *Chaos*, or the Superficies of that fluid Mass: As we have abundantly shewn in the *Theory**. It therefore necessarily follows, that the *Primogenial Earth* must have been of a different Form and Face from that which now appears.

On this single Point, the whole System depends; and when this Conclusion is proved, the Cause remains impregnable: we shall not now attempt to prove it by Physical Reasons, for that is already done, in the above-cited Place; our Design is therefore different, namely, to shew that this Opinion has been delivered by ancient wise Men; that there are plain Footsteps of this Doctrine extant, not so much in the Books, as in the Fragments, of the Ancients, or small Extracts from them.

We do not undertake this new Task, as though it were necessary for the Support of the above-mentioned *Theory*, which stands, firm on its own

* B. l. c. 4, and 5:

Foundation;

Foundation ; but to remove every Objection against Providence, and comply a little with their Obstinacy, who will not receive the Truth it self, unless delivered and recommended to them by their Ancestors.

To come therefore to the Matter in hand, the Conclusion to be now proved, is this. *That the World had Formerly a different Shape and Situation from what it has at Present.*

By the World here, I do not mean the immense University of Things, since we are ignorant of its Bounds or Figure ; nor do we know the Order of its remoter Parts. But I would be understood to speak of our World ; to wit, the *Earth* and the *Visible Heavens*. So that our Assertion returns thus—*The Primitive Earth was of a different Form from the Present, and had another Situation with respect to the Heavens ;* This we assert in the first Place, and in a general manner. For we shall in the following Discourse have an Opportunity of shewing wherein this Difference lay, when we come to enquire particularly what were the Properties of that *Primeval Earth*.

In the mean time, to confirm this general Difference by Authorities, it is in the first Place to be observed, that according to the Sacred Scriptures there is a threefold State, or Order, of the Natural World, or *Heaven and Earth* ; namely, the *Past*, the *Present*, and the *Future*. For so they are distinguished by the Apostle St. Peter * *The Heavens and Earth which then were. The Heavens and the Earth which now are*, and in the 13th ver. he says, *We look for new Heavens, and a new Earth*. By the *Heavens and Earth* which were past, the Apostle

means the *Primogenial* ones, ἀρχαῖς †, (to use his very Word) which, he says, *perished in the Deluge*. The Present ones, those which we now enjoy, are appointed to a contrary Fate, and *must perish by Fire* ||. Lastly, by the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, which we expect after the Conflagration, are the *Future ones*, which are taken notice of several Times by the Prophet *Isaias* **, and mentioned by the Apostle †. St. *John*. St. *Paul* has likewise touched upon this *threefold* State of the *Natural World*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, chap. viii. and has made it remarkable by several Characters. In the first Place, he supposes a World *not yet subject to Vanity*; and then he mentions the present one which *is subject to Vanity*; and lastly, the future one, redeemed and set free from *Vanity*; namely, from that *Vanity* to which it was before subjected. This future Restoration of the World, which the Apostle here sets forth, is styled by St. *Peter* ἀποκαταστάσις *, and by our Saviour παλιγγενεσία †, and implies that triple State of the World, of which we are speaking. For a *Renovation* or *Restitution* is made to some past Condition. It is a Return either to the same, or the like Form and Order, which that Thing once had. Now to what former State will the future *Restitution* of the World be made? not to the present one; for that, as the Apostle observes, is *subject to Vanity*; but that *Restitution* is a Freedom from *Vanity* and *Corruption*, they shall be freed from the *Bondage of Corruption*, into the glorious *Liberty of the Sons of God*.

† Chap. i. 5. || Chap. ii. 17. ** Chap. lxxv. 17. & lxxvi. 22.
 † Rev. xxi. 1. * Acts iii. 21. † Mat. xix. 28.

By comparing these Things together, we may justly conclude, That there was another State of this Natural World, before that which is now present, and was also more excellent. These Things I have premised, that so I might shew that our Opinion concerning the *Succession* of Worlds, or the *Diversity* and *Transmutation* of the *Natural World*, as well past as future, is grounded on the *Sacred Scriptures*.

But perhaps you will say, that this Discourse of St. Paul does not regard the *natural* and *inanimate* World, but that which is *animated*, and particularly Mankind, and that Renovation which Men were about to experience by the Help of the Gospel. Indeed some late Writers do thus interpret this Place of St. Paul. But what can such Expositors say to a like Passage of St. Peter, which we just now produced? If they take either of them to be spoken concerning the Natural World, it will be to no Purpose to refuse the other. Now that Dissertation of St. Peter, concerning the *triple* World, the *antediluvian*, *present*, and *new future* One, can by no means be wrested to an Allegorical Sense: For the Apostle particularly, and in exact Order, mentions Heaven and Earth; Parts of the Natural World; and gives us such a Character and Description of the World which he is talking of, as leaves no Room to doubt that he means the Heavenly and Earthly, that is, the Natural One.

Having taken Notice of these Things, we shall now return to St. Paul. I cannot yield to the Opinion of those new Expositors, who dissolve the Force of these Apostolical Words in Allegories, and endeavour to turn them from the *Natural* to the *Moral* World; contrary (as I think) to the Design of the sacred Author, and the Judgment

ment of the *Christian* Fathers, who expound this Place concerning the *Nature of Things*, and the *inanimate* World. But this Matter deserves to be more diligently considered.

The Words of St. Paul are these; *For the earnest Expectation of the Creature, waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made subject to Vanity; not willingly, but by Reason of him who hath subjected the same in Hope: Because the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God. For we know that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in Pain together until now: And not only they, but our selves also, which have the first Fruits of the Spirit, even we our selves groan within our selves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of our Body* *.

It is manifest that the threefold State of the Creature (τῆς κτίσεως) is here treated of: First in its *primæval* State, not yet subject to *Vanity*; then in the State which was subject to *Vanity*; and lastly, in the State of *future Redemption*, and Freedom from *Vanity* and *Corruption*.

Hitherto, I suppose all Interpreters are agreed; but we must farther enquire what is meant by the *Creature* which is subject to *Vanity*, and is to be freed from it at the appointed Time. I answer, by *Vanity* here, we are to understand *Mutability*, *Inconstancy*, a frail and fading Nature, easily obnoxious to *Corruption*, such as ours at present is. And the *Creature* is said to serve, or to be made subject, because of those servile Labours, as well of Men as Beasts, in this World; from which they shall

* Rom. viii. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

be delivered in the future. One. And thus far we meet with not much Contention; but the great Question is, What we are to understand by the *Creature* (τὴν κτίσιν) which undergoes all these *Changes*? Now whosoever reads these Words with an unprejudiced Mind, and free from pre-conceived Opinions, will readily affirm that the Apostle here speaks concerning the Creation, or External Nature of Things; for the Apostle's Words carry this Sense in their Front, and present us with it at first View: Nor must we depart from the *literal* Sense and Signification of Words, unless it contradicts other Places of Scripture, or is disagreeable to the Reason and Nature of the Subject in hand. But neither of these can here be objected. For this *triple* Succession of Worlds, which St. Paul hints at, is more fully and expressly asserted by St. Peter, in his second Epistle, and third Chapter; no sacred Writer opposing it. And as for the Nature of Things, it does not only tacitely consent, but cries aloud, on our Side: For the Face of the *present Earth*, and the *Phænomena* of the universal *Deluge*, testify with a loud Voice that this *Earth* was formerly of a different Shape and Situation; as we have fully demonstrated, in the *first* Book of our *Theory* of the *Earth*. Moreover, supposing a *Conflagration* of the *Earth*, which all acknowledge, there follows, as it were of its own Accord, a certain Renovation, and new habitable World; as we have shewn in the same *Theory* *. You see that nothing, from either of these two Heads, op-

* B. iv. c. 2.

poses our Interpretation concerning the *triple* World, or drives us from the genuine Sense of the Words, which we are obliged to follow, either in clear or doubtful Cases.

Besides, the *Christian* Fathers, who either expound this Passage, or but lightly touch upon it, by the *Creature* understand the External Creation; the Natural World, or Nature of Things. So *Tertullian* *, *Irenæus* †, *Origen* §, *St. Jerome* ||, *Chrysostom* **, and other ancient, as well as more modern Writers. Lastly, They who hold and maintain the future *Renovation* of the World, as most of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers do; all incline to this Opinion; and in their Comments on this Place of *St. Paul*, by the *Creature* (τῇ κτίσει,) understand the Created World, or Nature of Things: Which by a *Prosopœia*, very often used by this Apostle, is said *earnestly to wait for its Redemption*, and as it were to lift up its Head; and also to groan with us under the present Yoke of Bondage.

And lastly, It is represented as *earnestly desiring* (like a Woman in Travel) to be freed

* *Advers. Hermog.* c. xi. & *de Cor. Mil.* c. vi.

† *Lib.* v. c. 36. § *Contra Cels.* *Lib.* iv.

|| *In Isa.* li. & in c. 2. *ad Ephes.* & in *Habac.* c. 2.

** *Ad Rom.* *Hom.* 14. & *Hom.* 10. *ad Antioc.* *Tolet*, on these Words of the *Apostle*, when he had enumerated *Irenæus*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, and also *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, and others, says thus,—"All these agree in this, that the Parts of the Universe, or World, are here signified under the Name of the *Creature*; which, by Reason of Man, is subject to these Corruptions, and shall be delivered from this Bondage, and advanced to Perfection at the Resurrection of Mankind.

To these ancient Writers, we may add many of the best of our modern Expositors, as *Grotius*, *Tolet*, *Esius*, *Mede*, *J. Capellus*, *Calvin*, &c.

from its *Burden*, and see a new Offspring. This Similitude is very properly and beautifully applied by the Apostle, to the Nature of Things: And has some Resemblance to what the Poet sings, according to the *Sybil's* Prophecy.

*Aspice Convexo nutantem Pondere Mundum,
Terrasque tractusque Maris Cælumque profundum
Aspice venturo latentur ut omnia Sæclo.*

See, lab'ring *Nature* calls Thee, to sustain
The nodding Frame of *Heav'n*, and *Earth*, and *Main*.
See, to their Base restored, *Earth*, *Sea*, and *Air*;
And joyful Ages from behind, in crowding Ranks
appear. Dryden.

But enough of this ——— you see, as well from the Words themselves, as the Authority of the best Interpreters, both ancient and modern, that what the Apostle here says of the *Creature*, (*τὴν κτίσιν*,) relates to the *Visible World*, or *Nature of Things*. And he seems yet farther to strengthen his Signification of the Word, by adding *αὐτῇ ἡ κτίσις* *, the *Creature* it self; and *πασα ἡ κτίσις* †, the *whole Creation*; that we might not wander after figurative Interpretations. It now remains, that we confute their Expositions, who, forsaking the true Meaning of this Phrase, seek for Bye-Paths, and affix different Significations to these Words *κτίσις*, or *κτίσις*; by which they pervert the whole Sentence of the Apostle. Now these Interpreters may be ranged in a threefold Order; for some, by the *Creature*,

* Verse 21.

† Verse 22.

understand *Angels*; meaning the degenerate Ones, and those who are fallen from their original Purity: Others think the Apostle here means Mankind: And others will have it, that he refers particularly to the *Gentiles*, and those *Nations* which are yet to be converted. But they seek for a *Knot* in a *Bulrush*, who make use of such Windings, in so easy a Matter; and while they endeavour to be very subtle, fall into an Opinion, or Interpretation, which has no Solidity. For in the first Place, as to *Angels*, besides that such an Exposition destroys all Connection with the preceeding Verses, there is to be no future *Restoration* of the *lapsed Angels*: But the Apostle manifestly speaks concerning the *Creature*, which is to be freed from Servitude and Corruption; which Redemption it vehemently desires and pants after. And then as for Mankind, neither will this Interpretation hold; because the *Creature* is distinguished from Men, or ourselves, in the very Words of the Text. We know (says the Apostle) that *The whole Creation groaneth, and travaileth in Pain until now. And not only they, but our selves also, &c.* Therefore the *Creation* (or *Creature*) here mentioned, must be different from Men; unless you will exempt the Apostles, and other pious Persons, out of the Number of Men, or human Kind. Moreover, he exhorts us to Patience, and endeavours to comfort us from that general Struggle of all Things to future Perfection. And though *κρίσις*, or *καινή κτίσις*, (a *new Creature*,) might sometimes be applied to *Mankind*, or *Christians*, yet it cannot be so used here, where it is evidently distinguished from *them*; and also set by Way of Opposition.

Lastly,

Lastly, those Expositors, who by the *Creation*, (*κτίσις*) understand the *Heathen Nations*, go farthest of all from the use of the Words, and true Reason; for what has this World to do with the *Nations* and *Gentiles*? What Affinity is there of *Words* or *Things*? The *Creation*, and *Christians*, groaned under the same Yoke; which cannot be said concerning the *Heathens* and *Christians*: Nor could the *Pagan Nations* be said to long for a Religion which was unknown to them: Neither were they tired of their Superstition, or Deities, with which we find the heathen Populace were exceedingly delighted, and fell into the greatest Rage, if any Affront or Injury was offered to them. Besides, in what Hope were these Nations made subject to *Vanity*, or who subjected them, against their Inclinations? Moreover, the Apostle speaks concerning the *future Glory**, which is at length to be revealed; and which will abundantly recompence us for all the Evils we suffer in this Life. How can this therefore refer to the *Gentiles*, or any good Things of this present Life? Besides, this Liberty of the *Creature* is joined with the glorious Liberty of the *Sons of God*†, as what will happen at the same time. Now the latter entirely regards the other World, and therefore the former must be supposed to do so too: And ἀπολυτρώσις τοῦ σώματος § respects the Time of the *Resurrection*, as sufficiently appears from many other Places of Scripture ||; and does not concern any Affairs of this Life. Lastly, What Connection would these Words which follow in the 24th Verse, have with

* Ver. 17.

† Ver. 21.

§ Ver. 23.

|| Luke xxi. 28. Eph. i. 14. & Chas. iv. 30.

the preceeding ones, if the *Conversion* of the *Gentiles* were the Subject treated of? For we are saved by *Hope*, says the Apostle; for having before said that *we expect the Redemption of the Body*, he adds, that we are not yet *actually Saved*, but only in *Hope*; pointing out the future Life. In a Word, if we consider either what goes before, or follows after; or if we consider the Text itself, we shall find that all Circumstances conspire to denote the Felicity, that is yet to come, and terminate in the future State.

From these Considerations, I think it evidently appears, That the Apostle, in this Discourse, understands by the *Creation* (*κτίσις*) nothing else but what the Word carries in its very Sound, the *Created World*, or *Nature of Things*; as it is elsewhere taken by this *sacred Writer*: And therefore the Endeavours of some late Expositors, to wrest this *Word* to other Significations, are but in vain. Nor is it less incongruous, to restrain the future Glory, which the Apostle speaks of, that Freedom from Bondage and Corruption, the Redemption of the Body, to this present Life; for these Expressions distinctly point to a *future Life*, even as this *present* one is full of Vanity, Bondage, and Corruption.

Farther; It appears that the *Creature* was not, from the Beginning, subject to this *Vanity*, but fell into it afterwards, according to the Divine Counsel, as the Apostle hints. From whence it is apparent, that there has already been *two* different States of Nature; and a *third* is to commence, which will be more excellent than the *present*. From whence that follows, which we at first asserted; namely, That the Apostle, in this Discourse, includes and represents a *triple World*,
or

or *threefold* State and Succession of the *Natural World*.

We have laid this *threefold* Order of Worlds as a Foundation taken from the sacred Scriptures; and some of the Ancients give us an Account of more Successions; for the *Stoicks* would have Worlds to succeed each other continually, by Means of *Deluges* and *Conflagrations*, innumerable times repeated; which Error we elsewhere have taken Notice of*. But the rest of the *Grecian* Philosophers, who have written philosophically, concerning the Periods of the World, have not defined their Numbers; nor do they shew how often the *Face* of *Nature* will be renewed, and when it shall at last be settled. The Opinion of *Zoroaster* comes nearest, in this Point, to the *Christian* Doctrine; which we have before considered, as taken out of *Theopompus*. According to this Notion, "the World will be concluded with
" the Abolition of Death and Hell, and the
" Blessedness of Holy Men, with heavenly Bodies,
" which will cast no Shadow, nor stand in need
" of any Food: which is the true Consummation
" of our Affairs and of this World." But these Observations may suffice as to this Head.

* *Thory*, B. 3. c. 3.

C H A P. III.

The FORM of the Primogenial Earth, and the principal Differences between That and the Present One. There are manifest Notations of these Differences to be found among the Ancients.

WE have before observed, that the *primogenial Earth* was of another Shape and Situation from the *present*; and that the Truth of this appears, not only by Reasons drawn from *Natural Philosophy*, but also from the *Monuments of Antiquity*, as well *sacred* as *profane*. In the next Place therefore, we must shew the Shape, Situation, and Difference of *both these*; and seek for the Footsteps of this Difference among the *Ancients*; and having found them, we shall produce to open View the Truth of our Opinion, which has been hid for a long time, and *cloath* it as it were with a *new Light*, since it has been *covered* in *Darkness*.

The Differences between the *primæval* and *present Earth* are various and innumerable; which yet may all be reduced to two Heads; namely, The Shape and Situation of both; for many other Varieties and Differences flow from these, as from their Fountains.

The Form and Situation of the *present World* are well known; our Globe is divided into Sea and Land; a rocky, mountainous, uneven, and hollow

hollow Globe, as though it were a disjointed and broken Mass; and the Situation of this Globe is oblique to the Sun, or the Axis of the Ecliptic; whence proceed the various Vicissitudes of Times, in the Course of the Year; Winter and Summer, and the Middle Equinoxes. Such is the State of our Seat. Here we lead a short and laborious Life. Let us now change the Theatre, and the Reader may fancy (if he pleases) Parts, and Scenes directly opposite; one entire World, without a Sea, or any marine Whirlpool: Let him suppose the Earth to be smooth and even every where on its Surface, without Mountains, Rocks or Caverns; and moreover turned right towards the Sun, or stretched out in a parallel Line, to the Axis of the Ecliptic; by which Means it would have no Inequality of Seasons, but would be blessed with a perpetual Spring, or *Æquinoctial*.

This is the *primogenial* Earth, or the Picture of it: These were the *original* Qualities of it, and such was its peculiar Shape and Situation, whereby it is distinguished from the present. It is moreover to be observed, that if we find some Observations of the *Ancients* about this Matter, by their Testimonies and Authority, we may convince *those* who will not easily yield to Arguments drawn from Nature. In the first Place, we may take Notice, that according to our Opinions this Form of the *primogenial* Earth perished in the universal Deluge; and from that Time, and this Destruction, our present one arose. In which Opinion we follow the Apostle *Peter*, who says, *the first World*, namely, the first Heavens, and the first Earth, *perished in the Deluge*†.

† 2 Epist. iii. 6.

For if we consider what goes before, we cannot doubt but that the Apostle, in this Place, speaks concerning the Natural World, and not about Mankind only; for what he calls the *World*, in ver. 6. he had in the foregoing one styled *Heaven* and *Earth*, or the *Nature* of *Things*: Nor would the Apostle have given a proper Answer to the Objections of the Scoffers drawn from the immutable State of the Natural World, if his Reply had not been agreeable to the Nature of the Subject then in Debate. Now the *Question* was, concerning the Natural World; and unless the *Answer* had been so too, it would have been nothing to the Purpose. Moreover, the Apostle mentions the preceeding Destruction of the World by the *Deluge*, as an Argument of its future Destruction, in the *Conflagration*. Now there would be no Strength in this Argument, unless the *Natural World* had perished in the *Deluge*, when the Apostle was about to prove, that the *Natural World* should perish in the *Conflagration*: For thus the Apostle argues, against those false Philosophers, What has been done, may be done: But the World has already been destroyed, Nature has once suffered Shipwreck; Why therefore may it not perish again; why not suffer Shipwreck a second time? But to proceed in our Design: It is not only said that the *primeval Earth* perished in the *Deluge*, but also that its Form and Qualities were different from the present one. And this I think St. *Peter* likewise proves, in the same Discourse, concerning the *Revolution* of the *World*; unless we suppose that he deserted his Cause, or (what is impious to imagine) handled it in a very improper manner. But lest we should seem to injure this sacred Author, it will be but Justice to set

set down his very Words; which are these: *Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last Days Scoffers, walking after their own Lusts. And saying, Where is the Promise of his Coming? For since the Fathers fell asleep, all Things continue as they were from the Beginning of the Creation. For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the Word of God the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing out of the Water, and in the Water. Whereby the World that then was, being overflowed with Water perished. But the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in Store, reserved unto Fire, against the Day of Judgment, and Perdition of ungodly Men*†. You see here the State of the Case. The Adversaries denied that there would be any future Destruction, or Mutation of the Natural World. Being drawn to this Opinion, because they had neither seen, nor heard of any Inconstancy or Change in Nature, from the Days of the most ancient Fathers, from the utmost Remembrance of Men, from the very Beginning of the Creation. Now what does the Apostle return, by way of Answer to this? He says, they were willingly ignorant of the primitive State of Nature, or the old Heaven and Earth; which by standing out of the Water, and in the Water, for that Cause, or by Reason of that Constitution, perished in a Deluge of Waters. But, says he, the Heavens and Earth which are now, being otherwise constituted, shall be destroyed by Fire; and the new Heavens and new Earth shall at length succeed them, wherein the Righteous shall dwell. * This is the Sum of the A-

† 2 Epist. Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

* Ver. 13.

postle's Answer; which in many Respects proves that the *antediluvian World* was different from the *present one*: For *first*, unless you suppose this, the Answer will have no Weight; it will be no Confutation of the Adversaries Objection, but will rather confirm and strengthen it. For if the Face of Nature was the same, and unchanged, before and after the universal Flood, it was always the same from the very *Creation*; which was the very Point these Scoffers (*οἱ ἠμπαῖκται*) contended for. Therefore, according to this Interpretation, the Apostle is so far from confuting the Opinion which he was then to oppose, that he yields it to be true.

You see in the *second Place*, that the Apostle upbraids these false Philosophers with their Ignorance*. But of what were they ignorant? not of the *Deluge* in general; for the Apostle was writing to the *Jews*, as appears from this Phraseology, — *Since the Fathers fell asleep*; which is entirely *Jewish*. Now the *Jews* could not be ignorant of *Noah's Deluge*, since the Books of *Moses* were read every Sabbath in their Synagogues; but they were ignorant, or else pretended to be so, that the Heavens and Earth, before the Flood, were of a different Constitution from the present ones; and that they perishing in the destroying Deluge, the Heavens and Earth, which now are, succeeded them, of another Form, and different Qualities from the ancient ones: The Apostle upbraids them with this Ignorance or Forgetfulness.

In the *third Place*, if there was no Difference between the Nature of Things, *before* the Flood, and

* Ver. 5.

after it, the 5th Verse is superfluous and useless, and the antediluvian Heavens and Earth are brought in vain, as Examples of the Changeableness of Nature, (as the Arguments required) if there had been no Difference between them and the succeeding ones.

Fourthly, Upon the same Supposition, the Apostle's Illation in the 6th Verse is without any Foundation; a Consequence without Premisses: Whereby, says the Apostle *, the World, that then was, perished. But now what was this Occasion of the World's perishing? Was it not the very Constitution and Situation of it, with Respect to the Waters, which he had taken Notice of in the preceeding Verse? This being granted, you have the Difference between the two Worlds, and the Consequence, rightly deduced: But if it be not granted, there is no Force in the Consequence or Illation.

Lastly, In the 7th Verse, the Heavens and the Earth which now subsist, are opposed to the Antediluvian ones, οἱ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῖς ἐκπαλαι οὐρανοῖς καὶ γῆ. In like manner as the new Heavens and Earth are distinguished from the present ones, in the 13th Verse of this Chapter. Now, if the Structure of the Antediluvian World was the same with that after the Deluge, there would be no Room for this Antithesis; no Reason for this Distinction. But the Apostle, instead of these adversative Particles, would rather have said, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ, &c. The Heaven and

* Δι' αὐτῶν. Per qua vulgat. Quamobrem Beza. Qua de Causâ sive quia talis erat qualem diximus Constitutio Terra & Caeli. Grotius.

Earth, which before were drowned, are reserved to Fire. For thus he speaks concerning the *Logos*, or Word of God, τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ (says he) *, by the same Word which he had spoken of before †. And if the Heavens and Earth were the same, as well as the Holy Spirit, why did he prefix Notes of Distinction to these, and of Unity to the latter?

I have been the longer upon these Words, because I know very well that this Place of St. *Peter* is a Stone of Offence to many. But we chiefly build the *Theory* of the *Earth* on this *Rock*, with regard to sacred Authority, and we have always looked upon it as an *immoveable Foundation*. Neither is the Interpretation which we have given of this Place, altogether new, or singular: For diverse Commentators, being compelled by the Force of the Words, confess that the Apostle here speaks concerning the Natural World. And some of them have affirmed, from the Authority of this Discourse of St. *Peter's*, that the antediluvian Heavens and Earth perished, (I mean as to their Form,) and that the present ones are different from them. St. *Augustin* is certainly of this Opinion, and says (in many Places) that the ancient Natural World perished, and that “the
“ Heaven and Earth which are now, are different
“ from the former ones. And he more than once
“ makes a Comparison between the Destruction of
“ the World by the Deluge, and its future Ruin
“ by the Conflagration” And that too in his Exposition of these very Words of St. *Peter*.

* Verse 7.

† Verse 5.

Thus,

Thus, in his Treatise *Of the City of God* *, we meet with the following Passage; The Apostle, commemorating what was at the *Deluge*, seems in some Sort to have admonished us in what manner we may believe that the World will again be destroyed, at the End of Time. For then, (in the *Deluge*) he says the World, that then was, perished; not only the Earth, but the Heavens also. And having also observed, that this Destruction could not reach to the highest Heavens, and the Stars, he adds, And after this manner almost the whole Air perished with the Earth, whose former Appearance was blotted out by the *Deluge*. But the Heavens and Earth which now are, by the same Word are kept in store, reserved unto Fire.

You see, from these few Instances, that St. *Austin* refers this whole Discourse of the Apostle's to the *Natural World*: This he testifies also in many other Places, which I have set in the Margin, that the Reader may peruse them at his Leisure †.

Such

* Lib. xx. c. 13.

† St. *Austin*, in his Treatise *Of the City of God*, lib. xx. c. 24. writing against *Porphyry*, who, with these Scoffers in the Text; defended the Eternity and Immutability of the World, cites that Place of the Prophet, *The Heavens shall perish*; and compares it with this Passage of St. *Peter*, where the antediluvian Heavens and Earth are said to have perished, in these Words; we read, *Heaven and Earth shall pass away; the World passeth away*; but I think that these Expressions of *The Heavens passing away, &c.* are somewhat more soft, than to say they shall perish. Also in the Epistle of St. *Peter*, where the World that then was, being overflowed with Water, is said to have perished. It is evident enough what Part of the World is here signified by the Whole, and how far it is said to have been destroyed; and which those Heavens are, that are reserved

Such were the Sentiments of St. *Augustin*; and after this Manner he Philosophised. But yet I do not suppose, that either he, or any of the Ancients were acquainted with the Manner of that Destruction or Change of the old World, in the Deluge: Nor probably did they know of what Nature the Face of the Antediluvian Heaven and Earth was, which St. *Augustin* here says, perished in that Overthrow. For he seems not to have been led into this Opinion from any Contemplation of Nature, or preceeding Train of Arguments; it is more likely that the Authority and Light of the sacred Writer extorted this Conclusion from him: Perhaps he was also a little assisted in this Matter by some obscure Tradition concerning the Antediluvians, or their Affairs.

Hitherto we have shewed in general, the Distinction and Diversity between the Antediluvian, and present World, from the Words of St. *Peter*: But it is not so plainly expressed where-

unto Fire. And a little after, he explains what, or how large a Part, of the Universe perished in the Deluge. In that Apostolical Epistle (says he) a Part is signified by the Whole, since the World is said to have perished in the Deluge; although only the lower Part of it, with its Heavens, were then destroyed. Lastly, in his Exposition on the cii. Psalm, upon these Words, already cited, *The Heavens shall perish*: This he says once happened at the Deluge, according to the Apostle *Peter*. St. *Peter* expressly says, By the Word of God, the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing in the Water, and out of the Water; whereby the World that then was being overflowed with Water, perished. Therefore he said, that the Heavens were destroyed by the Deluge. See also the 16th Chapter of the same Book, where he observes, That the Shape of this World will be changed in the Conflagration, as formerly in the Deluge.

in

in this Diversity or Difference consists. It is indeed said, that that World was standing out of the Water, and in the Water. Now, to stand in the Water, if it be referred to the Earth, seems to be the same Thing as to be sustained by the Waters, or founded upon the Waters, according to the Expression of *David*, *Psalms* xiv. 2. or to be stretched out, or established upon the Waters as the same Prophet expresses it in another Place * ; or lastly, in the Words of Wisdom †, to be stretched out as a Compass upon the Face of the Deep. All these Expressions seem to Point out the same Thing; namely, to shew us the Situation of the Antediluvian Earth: Which was standing in the Waters, or sustained by them, *founded or extended* upon the Waters; or, which is the most elegant Expression of all, *spread as a Compass upon the Face of the Deep*.

These sacred Descriptions agree among themselves, as well as with our *Theory*: In which we have founded the first Earth on the Superficies of the Waters, or upon the Face of the Abyss §.

And this Exposition seems yet to be more natural, because this Sort of Situation, and Constitution of the old World, rendered it obnoxious to the Deluge; and this the Apostle plainly implies: For having said that the Antediluvian Earth was standing out of the Water, and in the Water; he adds, whereby, or for which Cause, to wit, that Situation, or Consti-

* *Psalms* cxxxvi. 6.

† *Prov.* viii. 27.

§ See *Theory*, Book i. Chap. 5.

tution, the World that then was, perished. We have likewise in our *Theory* * shewed the Truth of this by many clear Arguments : Namely, That the Earth being then founded on the Abyfs, was obnoxious to a Dissolution : And from that Dissolution and Fall into the supposed Abyfs, there happened the Universal Deluge.

These Things respect the Situation of the Antediluvian Earth, with respect to the Waters, or Abyfs ; but its Situation is plainly different with regard to the Sun, and Heaven, which we chiefly had our Eye upon in the Conclusion proposed in the second Chapter. The sacred Scripture is silent as to this, or at least gives but obscure Hints concerning it. But in Prophane Authority, we find many References to such a Situation, as we shall afterwards see. It only here remains to be inquired, supposing this Situation of the Antediluvian Earth, with respect to the Waters and Abyfs, Of what Nature was its Superficies ? Was it rough and mountainous, or smooth and level ? Level no Doubt, if it every where hung over the Abyfs, for it followed the Form of That, as the Ice, when over the Water. Nor was there any Reason, or Cause for an Inequality on this Earth we are now speaking of : No Origin of Mountains, Rocks, rough Places, or any Unevenness. And as for the Sea, it was shut up in the Bowels of the Earth, under the Name of the Abyfs ; and lay hid till the great Rupture in the Deluge ; when that old World, *being over-flowed with Water, perished.*

Hitherto all Things suit well to that Idea, or Description which we have given of the primogenial Earth. All Things I say, agree, in these sacred Writers. But what shall we say to other Authors? I confess, that the Ancients have very sparingly treated concerning the Shape of the first Earth; they have indeed pronounced it to be fertile, happy, and golden; but they have scarce touched on the Form of it. It is true, they have often compared it to an Egg, which besides other Things wherein they agree, has a smooth and even Shell. But I do not remember that the Ancients have given us any Accounts concerning the Origin or Production of Mountains. Certain Christian Writers of the middle or latter Age, have presumed to affirm, that the Earth before the Flood was evenner than now it is.

Among whom are *Bede* *, the Author of the Scholastical History †, the *Ordinary Gloss* §, *Alcuinus* ||, *Rabanus*, *Medicus* and others. But the Authority of these, considered in themselves, is of no great Weight: Yet, as they are Followers of the Ancients, and have handed down an Opinion to us either received by a tacit Tradition, or drawn from ancient and unpublished Manuscripts, and which besides, in its Nature is very reasonable; I say, so far they are not contemptible Witnesses. But let us proceed to the other Points.

* In 2 Pet. ii. 5. & de Sex Dierum Creat.

† Cap. 34. ii. In Gen. vii. || Interrog. 118.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Nature, Manner, and Causes of Deluges, and especially the universal One.

WE are now to enter into a Disquisition concerning the Deluge, which the Apostle here mentions, and wherein he says the old World perished. Now it has been a great and weighty Question, debated in every Age, What Sort of a Deluge this was, and by what means it overturned the World? In our *Theory* of the *Earth* *, we have performed three Things by Way of Solution of this Difficulty. In the *first* Place, we have demanded what Quantity of Water was required in that universal Deluge, that so it might be able to cover the Tops of the highest Mountains, and we have found by a manifest Calculation, that it must at least exceed the Quantity and Magnitude of eight Oceans.

Secondly, we have there clearly shewn, that so great a Quantity of Waters can no where be found, though we exhaust all the Treasures of Water, either in Heaven or Earth; and add besides, the subterranean Ones. *Thirdly*, that howsoever, or from what Place soever, this pro-

* Lib. i. C. 2. 3.

igious Mass of Waters was brought upon the Earth, there could be no Means of removing them; or any possible Method found out of taking away such a mighty Heap of Waters. And these three Heads being duly compared, it will evidently appear, that our present Earth is not obnoxious to a Deluge; nor is it capable of it, by Reason of its Shape and Situation. *Fourthly*, that the Antediluvian Earth was of a different Form and Situation from the Present; otherwise it had not perished by this Kind of Fate; at least, not by Reason of its natural Disposition, as the Apostle teaches us. And *lastly*, We have shewed that that Form, and Situation, or Construction, of the old World upon the Face of the Abyfs, being taken for granted, which we have before given, (which is agreeable as well to sacred Writers, as the Laws of Nature, and the Original of Things out of *Chaos*) a universal Deluge would arise from the Dissolution of it, and falling into the supposed Abyfs. And that such a one too, as would answer all *Phænomena*, and remove all Objections; for according to this Hypothesis, there would be a sufficient Quantity of Water; nor would it be difficult to carry off the Waters, at the End of the Deluge. And all those Inconveniencies, which press hard upon the vulgar Hypothesis, have no Place here, or any Force against our Opinions.

Perhaps you will say, that this Hypothesis concerning the Dissolution of the Earth, and the Eruption of the Abyfs, does indeed answer all the *Phænomena* both of the universal Deluge, and the present Earth; but that this Dissolution is Fictitious, or Precarious. I answer, That Hypothesis which agrees with all the *Phænomena*

nomena of the subject Matter, ought not to be esteemed Fictitious, or Precarious; it then performs its Part, and discharges its Office: And in those natural Things which are not subject to Sight, there is no other Method of Philosophising, or searching after the Truth, than by making Use of such Sort of Hypotheses. But as to the Dissolution of the Earth, and the breaking up of the Abyss, there are two Things farther to be observed: *First*, What sacred History has delivered concerning this Matter. *Secondly*, What the natural History of Deluges has yielded us, as to the Manner and Cause of the same. If History takes Notice of the Earth's opening, and Eruptions of Waters, and such like Accidents, as the proper Adjuncts of lesser Deluges; there was much more Occasion for them in the greatest.

As to the first of these, *Moses* in his History of the Deluge takes Notice, that at that time the great Abyss was broken up (*Tehom Rabbah*) which could not be done without the Rupture or Dissolution of the Earth: Moreover, he makes his breaking up of the Abyss to be the principal Cause of the Deluge. Therefore the Subterranean Waters burst out from this Abyss, by which means the World was drowned: Nor did the Earth only open, but also fell into this supposed Abyss; For otherwise the Subterranean Waters had not been expelled from their Seats; much less would they have been able to have reached the Height of the tallest Mountains, they being indued with no such Impulse. Besides, since the Deluge which *Moses* speaks of was not peculiar to this or the other Country, but diffused throughout the whole Earth, it appears from thence that

that that Ruin or Dissolution of the Earth, by which the Waters were moved and driven out, was a general one; and that *Moses*, in that short Narration, comprehends and approves all the Parts of our Hypothesis in a few Words.

There is a Place in the History of *Job* * which is not unlike to this breaking up of the great Abyss, or *Tehom Rabbah*, where the Nativity of the Ocean is celebrated, when it came from the Womb of the Earth; for so I understand that Womb from whence the Sea is said to have broken forth, the Bars which restrained it being burst asunder. The Words, according to the *Septuagint*, are these, Ἐφραξα ὁ θαλάσσαν πυλαῖς, ὅτε ἰμαίμασεν, ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκπορευομένη. *I have shut up the Sea with Gates, when it roared, coming out of the Womb of its Mother.* Which the Commentator has thus explained; it roared, or was furious; that is, it was carried with a violent Force, being moved to go out of the Abyss, like as an Infant to be brought forth. Almost all agree, that by the Womb here, is meant the Abyss, the great Mother of the Ocean. And in the *Chaldaic* Paraphrase it is expressly read מִתְּהוֹמָהּ, *out of the Abyss.* But since, according to our Notion, there was a twofold State of the Abyss, the one lax, and diffused, when it every where covered the Superficies of the Earth*, in the first Formation of Things; and the other close, when it was afterwards shut up in the Womb, or Bowels of the Earth; now the Question is, whether these words are to be understood of the

* Chapter xxxviii.

† Gen. i. 2.

first or second State of the Abyss? when it was open, or when it was shut up? It seems evident to me, that, when the Discourse is concerning the Eruption of the Sea out of the Womb, the meaning is, that it was before shut up as the Infant is in the Womb, and that it went out from thence, the Way being opened, or the Bars broken. For there was no Womb, or breaking out of the Womb, in the Abyss, when it was open and diffused, and floating on the Superficies of the Globe. Therefore this Gloss of the Old Interpreter of *Job* is very right; *This (says he) was done when all the Fountains of the great Abyss were opened.* And as for the Womb here mentioned, I look upon it to be the Bosom of our Mother Earth; which is farther explained and confirmed by *Casp. Sanctius* on the Place; nor is his Labour in vain: For we must necessarily, by this Womb, understand some great Subterranean Hollow Place, or Recess, from whence the Ocean is said to have broke forth, either like an Infant, or gush of Waters which follows after the Birth.

What follows next, concerning the wrapping up of this new born Infant, has relation to the same, and elegantly expresses the Face of Heaven, and the Air, while the Deluge was raging. *When I made a Cloud its covering, and wrapped it up in Darknes as in swadling Bands.*

Amidst the Rage of the Deluge, and Tumult of the falling World, all the Neighbouring Regions were filled with Clouds, Storms, and Waves tossed up on high: And the Sea was wrapped up in these Clouds, and this foggy Air, as in softer Clothes, when first it came out of the Womb

Womb of its great Mother Earth, and burst at all Adventures into the Light.

Neither is that less agreeable which follows, in the tenth verse, concerning the present Channel of the Sea, and the placing of Rocks on the Shore, whereby its Waves should be stayed. *I brake up for it, my decreed Places, and set Bars and Doors: And said hitherto shalt Thou come, but no farther: and here shall thy proud Waves be stayed*.*

These Words describe the Form and Situation of the *Antediluvian* Earth and Sea, when God again confined and restrained the loose and raging Waters within their Channels, at the End of the Deluge, and put Bars and Obstacles on the Sea-Coast, according to his Covenant with *Noah*, that they might not again drown the Earth.

There are other Places of the holy Scripture which seem to signify the Dissolution of the Earth, and that in the Deluge. The Prophet *Isaias*, being about to describe the Destruction and Dissolution of the World, begins with the same Words which *Moses* used in his Description of the Deluge, נִפְתָּחוּ אֲרָבוֹת סְפִירָם. The *Septuagint* has thus rendered them, *ὑψώσιν ἐν τῷ ἁερὶ ἡνεώχθησαν αὐ.* The *Windows of Heaven were opened*. From whence we may suppose, that those other Things which follows in the same Description allude likewise

† * This Passage is thus rendered in the *Vulgate*.

Circumdedi illud Terminis meis, & posui vectem & ostia Et dixi usque huc venies, & non procedes amplius: & hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos. *Tremelius* has it much to the same Purpose: —Cum defregi pro eo Terram Decreto meo: & apposui vectem & valvas. Dicens hucusque venies & ne procedito: & hic opponet se Litus Superbiæ fluctuum tuorum.

to the Form and Manner of the Deluge. The Words of the Prophet are these *, *For the Windows from on high are open, and the Foundations of the Earth do shake. The Earth is utterly broken down; the Earth is clean dissolved; the Earth is moved exceedingly; the Earth shall reel to and fro, like a Drunkard.*

You see here the Description of Earthquakes, Dissolutions, Concussions, and every Sort of Ruin; and if you suppose that they refer to the future Destruction of the World, yet at least the Prophet seems to describe the future from what was past, and supposes the World to be confused and dissolved in both.

In another Place, of the same Prophet †, where the Deluge is treated of, God says, That he will always stand to that Covenant and Promise which he made to Noah; and that the Mountains and Hills should no more be removed: The Words, according to the Septuagint, run thus *: *This is to me, from the Waters, which was under Noah, as I swore to him at that Time, never more to be Wrath with the Earth for thy Sake, nor to remove the Mountains in Displeasure: Neither shall the Hills be carried out of their Place.* By this Example he lets us know that the Earth was torn in Pieces, and removed from its Foundation, at the Deluge; and he says, that God had sworn that it should never be so rent again;

* Isa xxiv. 18, &c.

† Isa. liv. 9.

* Από τῆ ὕδατος τῆ ἐπὶ Νῶε τυτό μοι ἐστὶ Κἀδοτε ὁμοσα αὐτῷ ἐν χερσὶ ἐκρηγνῶ τῇ γῇ μὴ θυμωθῆσεταί ἐτι σοὶ ἐτι μὴδὲ ἔν ἀπὸ αὐτῆς σε τὰ ὄρη μετακινήσειταί ἐδ' οἱ βουνοὶ σε μετακινήσουσιν.

and

and consequently that there should be no Deluge.

In my Opinion, there are other Places in the sacred Writings, treating of the Subversion or Dissolution of the Earth, which seem to respect the Time and State of the universal Deluge, as the Shipwreck of the World, and greatest Monuments of the Divine Displeasure *. This Passage of the Prophet *Amos* is remarkable †. *And the Lord God is he that toucheth the Land, and it shall melt: And it shall rise up wholly like a Flood, and shall be drowned as by the Flood of Egypt.* And we read in the Prophet *Haggai* §, concerning a two-fold Shaking of Heaven, Earth, and Sea; the past, and the future; and whatsoever this Description may shadow out, as to the future Conflagration; yet I think it may also fairly be interpreted to have a regard to the Deluge.

Moreover, in the *Psalms* we often find mention made concerning the *Shaking of the Earth, and its Foundations*: And sometimes the Condition of the afflicted and distressed Church, which *Noah's Ark* represented, is shadowed out in such Words as denote the Force and Rage of the Deluge ||; especially in the eighteenth *Psalms*, where I think the Scene of the Deluge is drawn in a very lively Manner, by every kind of Tempest and Commotion of Heaven and Earth *: *Then the Earth shook and trembled, the Foundations*

* See Job ix. 5, 6, &c. xii. 14, 15.

† Chap. ix. 5, 6. § Chap. ii. 6.

|| Psalm xlii. 7. & xli. 1, 2, 3.

* Verse 8, 9, 10, 11, &c.

also of the Hills moved, and were shaken, because he was Wrath. There went up a Smoke out of his Nostrils, and Fire out of his Mouth devoured; Coals were kindled by it. He bowed the Heavens also, and came down; and Darknes was under his Feet. And he rode upon a Cherub, and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the Wings of the Wind. He made Darknes his secret Place: His Pavilion round about him were dark Waters, and thick Clouds of the Skies. At the Brightness that was before him, his thick Clouds passed, Hail-Stones and Coals of Fire. Yea, he sent out his Arrows and scattered them, and he shot out Lightnings and discomfited them. Then the Channels of Water were seen, and the Foundations of the World were discovered. At thy Rebuke, O Lord, at the Blast of the Breath of thy Nostrils. He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many Waters.

These Motions, and Storms, which (as all great Things in the Prophetic Writings used to be) are attributed to the Presence of the Deity; are no where to be met with in sacred History but at the Time of the raging Deluge, when the greatest Abyss was broken up, and the showery Cataracts being poured down, Heaven and Earth seemed to be mingled together. Philo the Jew, in his Treatise concerning *Abraham* *, has given us a like Representation of the Face of Nature, in the Deluge as well with Respect to Heaven as Earth. Where when he had described the universal Conflux, and turbulent Motions of the Waters, he adds, Πάντα τ' ὑγρὸν βαρὺ καὶ συνέχευε νεφέλαι καὶ πύλας, &c. And since I

* M. p. 279;

find no where among the Ancients, a more copious Description of the Deluge, or a more lively Representation of it, I shall set down the Translation of his Words at large. " Nor in
 " the mean Time was the Air at rest, and all
 " the Heavens were covered with thick and continual Clouds, and raging Tempests. The
 " Noise of the Thunder, and the glittering of the
 " Lightnings, with the roaring of the Floods,
 " and the force of the Rain that perpetually
 " poured down, made the whole World look
 " as if it were dissolving into the Element of
 " Water. At length there arose so great a
 " Heap of Waters, by Reason of the Cataracts
 " that poured down from above, and gushed
 " up from beneath, that not only the Fields
 " and Valleys were covered, but also the Tops
 " of the highest Mountains, for all Parts of
 " the Earth were overflowed with Water; so
 " that that being taken away the World would
 " be dismembered, and deprived of its most
 " considerable Parts; and that which before was
 " whole and unhurt, would seem (* which it is
 " impious to think, or mention) lame and disfigured. For the Air it self, excepting that
 " Part which was near the Lunar Circle, was
 " almost wholly taken away, being overcome
 " by the Force and Violence of the Waters,
 " which had well nigh invaded its whole Region. *Lastly*, The Nature of the Parts of
 " the World, besides the heavenly Ones, was
 " loosened, as though it had been seized by
 " some heavy and fatal Distemper".

* *Philo* believed the Word to be Incorruptible.

The Reader may observe, that there are many Things in this Description of the Deluge, which are of a near Affinity to the Words of the holy Prophet; for he mentions Storms and Whirlwinds, Thunderings and Lightenings, and thick Tempests, as though the Heavens had been melted, and the whole Frame of the World put into Confusion. But it must be confessed, that this elegant Man could not rise to the height of the Prophetic Description: Nor indeed can Words express, or the human Mind conceive, the sorrowful Image of Nature, during the Rage of the Deluge, what Countenance it must give to the Heavens, the Earth, and the Air? A Heaven without Sun or Stars! The Earth every where rent and broken; the Abyss gaping; and the Air terrible, by Reason of the Waters, the Darkness, and the Fires, that sometimes darted through it; besides Whirlwinds, and the dashing of the Waves, and the thundering and crashing of falling Masses; in a Word, amidst such Confusion of all Things, I seem either to see the first *Chaos*, or the last Day. But thus much may suffice, as to the Account which sacred Authors give us concerning the Deluge.

We must now consult prophane History, and foreign Authors, and see what they have delivered about the Manner and Causes of Deluges, and committed to Writing; that so we might have some Memorial of them, in these and the other Nations. And in general, I dare presume to say, that the greatest Floods which have happened in diverse Kingdoms, and been recorded by Historians, proceeded from the same Causes, or from the same Order of Causes, as that

that universal One which we have just now been explaining : Namely, from a Rupture of the Earth, and its Fall into the supposed Abyss of Waters, whence those subterranean Waters overflowed the Fields or neighbouring Provinces, with the Force of the falling and shattered Mass. Moreover, Earthquakes usually either go before, or accompany such a Dissolution of the Earth, by which it is shaken, and driven from its Situation. *Lastly*, Those Regions which are full of Caverns are, above all others, subject to both these, being liable to Earthquakes and Inundations. These Things contain the Sum of the Matter, and we will produce natural History, as a Witness to the Truth of them ; and it will appear by Examples drawn from thence, that what we have above explained in the Description of the universal Deluge, did also occur in an inferior Manner in other Inundations ; and we may, as it were, see it painted on lesser Tables.

Inundations generally proceed from one of these three Causes ; either from an Irruption of the Sea into the lower Grounds, the Bounds which were set, either by Nature or Art, being overcome or broken through. Or from immoderate Rains. Or lastly, from the Irruption of subterraneous Waters. The first never happens but upon low Grounds, as I observed before, and where the Earth is not so high as the Superficies of the Sea ; nor do the Waters there rise higher, or take a longer Progress, unless they are driven by some sudden Motion or Tempest ; therefore Inundations of this Nature can never happen any where but in Countries adjoining to the Sea, and where the Land is not high or mountainous.

As to the second Sort of Inundations, since they rise by Degrees, they cannot be exceeding great; for those which proceed from the first Rain, glide away before the last, or middle ones can come; and therefore they used to overflow only the Meadows, or neighbouring Fields and Villages: Nor do they tarry long there, since they are easily carried away through the Channels of the Rivers, and run into the Sea. And here we may observe, that as no Universal Deluge can ever arise from any overflowing of the Ocean, because its Situation is lower than the Earth, so neither can it proceed from any Rain; because how great a Quantity of Water soever you suppose to be drawn from the Earth and Waters, when it returns its Rain to the same Earth and Waters, it can only take as much Room as it did before: So that it cannot produce any Universal Inundation. It is true, at the first Push, when the Earth has not yet imbibed its Part, there will be a Sort of Water-Pool: But after the Distribution is made, and Nature every where resumes its own, all Things will return to their proper State.

The third Sort of Deluges, which arise from Earthquakes and Irruptions of the Water, is the most dismal and infamous for sorrowful Destruction, both with regard to the Nature of Things, and Mankind. By this means Islands have sometimes been swallowed up, and large Tracts of the Continent drowned. Mountains have been changed into Whirlpools, and firm Land into Sea. In a Word, the principal Changes and Transformations, which we perceive to rise on the Face of this present Earth, or know to have happened

happened formerly, drew their Original from hence:

Neither have these Deluges been less prejudicial to Men, and Animals; Cities, with their Inhabitants, have been destroyed by them, as well as Fields and Woods, with the wild Beasts and whole Countries, with all that appertained to them; so that they may be reckoned Compendiums of that Great and Universal Deluge in which the whole World perished.

We must therefore especially treat of these kind of Deluges, and select some, out of many, by the Survey and Comparison of which with that great and general one, we may more easily understand the Causes and Manner of it, being instructed by History, and Examples of a like Nature.

We have elsewhere observed, on this Subject *, the dreadful Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, and the Region of *Pentapolis*; which, as it was begun by Showers of Sulphur sent from Heaven, so we know it was accomplished and perfected by a great Rupture of the Earth, and Inundation of the Waters which lay hid beneath. Tho' *Moses*, I confess, does not expressly tell us of any thing besides the sulphurous Showers from Heaven, that fell on those Cities and Places, since it was usual for him chiefly to recount wonderful and divine Causes, passing over the rest in Silence; yet he makes use of those Words which imply a Destruction, or signify to subvert †, and which are there (and in other Places) rendered by the *Septuagint*, *κατασφην*. Where *St. Peter* || seems to join both

* Theory of the Earth, Lib. i. c. 6. † תפירה & חטא.

|| 2 Epist. ii. 6.

Causes together, when he says he overthrew those Cities, and turned them into Ashes.

Strabo also comprehends both Causes, and more largely explains the Signs and Reliques of both, in his Description of the Lake *Asphaltus* *, which arose from thence.

They shew (says he) burnt Rocks, and rough Caverns and dark Windings, the Ground, being covered with Ashes, and the Habitations overturned; all which Evidences confirm the Account which is generally received among the Inhabitants. In this Place there were formerly thirteen Cities inhabited, of which the principal one, *Sodom*, has yet a Compass of sixty Furlongs remaining: There are Earthquakes there, and Eruptions of Fire, and hot bituminous and sulphureous Waters, which have been the Occasion of a Lake, and the Stones are of a fiery Nature; the other Cities are either swallowed up, or forsaken by their Inhabitants.

These Things are evident enough; nor need we bring any more Witnesses, since the Matter speaks for it self, and all Posterity sees, or may this Day see, in that Region of *Pentapolis*, or *Asphalites*, the Footsteps of a threefold Destruction, by Fire, Water, and Earthquakes.

But enough has been said as to these Cities, and the Land of *Sodom*: We shall now see what other Places have been destroyed by the same Causes, namely, by Deluvian Earthquakes, if I may so speak. For we may distinguish Earthquakes into two sorts, Dry and Watery ones. The Deluvian ones are often styled Chasmatic; which (to use the Words of *Am. Marcellinus* †)

* Lib. xvi. m. Page- 784.

† Lib. xvii.

swallow

swallow up the Parts of the Earth with a quicker Motion, the Whirl-Pits being suddenly laid open, as an Island in the *Atlantic* Sea, near the *European* Shore; and *Helice* and *Bura* in the *Crisean* Bay; and the Town *Succinum* in *Criminia*, a Part of *Italy*, being swallowed up in a profound Abyss, are hidden in Eternal Darkness. And since Waters always lie hid in the deep Caverns of the Earth, these Chasmatic Motions are almost always attended with a Deluge. For if the broken Earth hangs down, and subsides on the supposed Whirlpool, the Waters gush forth, and are impetuously thrown out on every side; so that not only whatever is on that Tract of Earth is cast headlong, whether Woods, Towns, or Animals, but the neighbouring Regions, although, whole and unbroken, yet receive Damage with the rest, by the force and spreading of those Waters which are thrown up. Therefore the Ancients rightly feigned *Neptune* to be the God of Deluges, and Earthquakes, as *Diodorus* informs us *, who after he had attributed the Subversion of *Bura* and this *Helice* to the Wrath of *Neptune*, gives us the Reason of his Opinion: Because it is believed that that God hath the Power over Earthquakes and Deluges. Moreover, it may be observed, that those same Countries are subject to Earthquakes and Inundations, since they both proceed from one Cause; namely, a hollow Structure of Earth. Whence *Strabo* well observes, concerning *Phrygia*, and the Earthquakes which are frequent †. The Ground there (says he) appears to be full of Holes,

* Lib. xv.

† Lib. xii. Pag. 378.

which renders it obnoxious to Earthquakes. He might have added, to Inundations too; for what he styles τὸ πολυτερον, full of Caverns; or Holes, contains the Causes of both. He has also taken notice, that *Eubaa* * and *Boeotia* † abound with these Caverns, and *Diodorus Siculus* has recorded the same concerning the *Peloponesus* **. From whence I should, easily imagine, that the Country of *Greece*, and the neighbouring Regions on both Parts, as well of *Asia* as *Europe*, about the *Egean* Shores, and upwards towards the *Euxine* Sea, and downwards to the *Mediterranean*, was founded on a Soil abounding with Whirl-pools. And we are informed from History, that Earthquakes and Inundations have frequently happened in these Lands.

Having mentioned these Things with reference to Earthquakes in general, especially those which are accompanied with Floods, we shall produce some Examples; it is not of much Concern in what Order they are brought. There happened one in the 88th *Olympiad*, among the *Locrians*, which tore up the City *Aralania*, with the Grounds adjacent, and turned it into an Island. *Diodorus Siculus* § (besides others) gives us the History of this Transaction in the following Words; There happened such dreadful Earthquakes in many Parts of *Greece*, that the Waves of the Sea overflowing, brought great Damage to the Cities along the Shore. And a Part of *Locris*, which before was a Peninsula, by the violent breaking off of the Neck

* Lib. x. p. 447.

** Lib. xv.

† Lib. ix. p. 406, 407.

§ Lib. xii. m. Fol. 3.

of Land, became an Island, which bore the Name of *Atalante*. *Strabo** also says, that the City *Eubœa* was in like manner swallowed up by an Earthquake, into the supposed Whirlpool, and afterwards was called an Island.

That Earthquake which destroyed the City *Bizicum*, in *Bithynia*, together with its stately Temple, was accompanied with a Deluge; as *Ziphilinus* relates, in the Life of *Antoninus Pius*, when he had partly given an Account of the Matter, he adds, in the *Mediterranean*, or very Continent of the Earth, they report, that the Top of the Mountain opening, the Strength of the Waves from the Ocean was poured out, and the Froth of the pure and clear Sea thrown a great way upon the Earth.

The same *Ziphilinus*, in his Account of the Destruction of *Antioch*, by an Earthquake, joins the sinking Mountains and Effusions, and Translations of Waters, together †. Other Mountains sunk likewise, (besides *Corasium*,) and the Waters were seen where none had ever been before; on the contrary, they failed where before they had flowed.

Ancient Authors mention many other Diluvian Earthquakes of this Sort; but the most infamous is, that which happened about the hundredth *Olympiad*, and destroyed almost all *Achaia*; and having rent the Cities of *Bura* and *Helice* (as *Orosius* testifies) swallowed them up in its opened Caverns.

Diodorus Siculus takes Notice of this Destruction ||, and gives a particular Description of

* Lib. x. † In the Life of Trajan, p. 251

|| M. Fol. 363. 364.

it, the Sum whereof is this: Under those (Princes) there were such prodigious Earthquakes in *Peloponessus*, and Inundations of Water through all that Country, and the Cities round about, that they almost exceed our Belief. This Destruction chiefly fell on two Cities of *Achaia*, *Helice* and *Bura*; the former of which was reckoned to be the most excellent City in *Achaia*, before the Earthquakes. And then, being about to give us the Causes, after he had in the first Place attributed this Destruction to the Wrath of *Neptune*, he afterwards subjoins a natural Reason *. Moreover, there are (says he) in *Peloponessus*, large Cavities in the Ground, where there are also vast Lakes or Receptacles of those Waters, which spring up and flow from thence. Now these are the Causes of Earthquakes, and Absorptions, and Inundations. To this Example of *Bura* and *Helice*, *Pausanius* adds another, concerning *Idea*, a City on Mount *Sipylos*, in these Words †, A like Accident also fell out in another Place, when *Idea*, a City on Mount *Sipylos*, being swallowed up in an Earthquake, vanished. As soon as this City was thus ruined, the Waters gushed out of the Mountain, and the Whirlpool became a Lake which was called *Saloe*. He farther adds, And the Ruins of a City were evidently discerned in that Lake, till they were carried away by muddy Torrents of Water. And the same also has been said of *Helice*. Lastly, To add no more Examples, The History of the great Island *Atlantis*, being overwhelmed in the Sea (an Account of which we

* Fol. 365.

† Lib. vii. m. p. 447.

And in *Plato*) is very well known. *Plato* relates it from the Authority of the *Egyptian* Priests, and although this Narration is (after the Manner of ancient Stories) mingled with some fabulous Circumstances, yet it contains a true Memorial of a great Country's being swallowed up by an Earthquake, and Irruption of the Waters. But we have said enough of these Things.

There is an easy Transition from these Examples, to our Argument; and by them we may give Strength to our Cause; for if these lesser Deluges were accompanied with Openings and Dissolutions of the Earth, as we learn from History; we cannot reasonably suppose that there were lighter Causes in that grand One, of which we now are treating.

And as it appears that subterraneous Lakes lay under those Countries and Cities which were swallowed up; so if we suppose that the whole Earth lay over the great Abyss at the first Formation of Things, and that it was dissolved in *Noah's* Time, we shall see as clear Reasons for that universal Deluge, as we do for lesser Ones, and plainly perceive that they are of a like Nature, as to their Effects and pernicious Consequences. *Lastly*, The Deluge being ended, the Face of the present Earth, as to its Form and Situation, and *Phænomena* would immediately arise from these Waters, and Ruins, as we have clearly and fully shewn in our *Theory* *.

There yet remains one celebrated Deluge, which we have passed by; namely, That of *Deucalion*,

* Lib. i. Chap. 6.

which

which the *Grecians* used to represent as a universal one, when all Mankind were destroyed. The Deluge which happened in the Reign of *Ogyges*, is indeed ancients than that of *Deucalion*, but we have the Name, and some Memorial of this Matter; we retain nothing of the Causes or Manner of that Inundation. Many are of Opinion that the ancient *Ogyges* was *Noah* himself, and his Deluge the same with *Noah's*; the Names being changed, and the History and Chronology mutilated, which often happens in very ancient Matters. Leaving therefore This, let us a little consider the Other of *Deucalion*, to see if we can discern those Foot-steps of the Earth's opening and being dissolved, as we find in many others. Now that the Earth was divided and rent in *Deucalion's* Flood, appears from this Saying of *Apollodorus*, speaking concerning this Deluge *, Then the Mountains of *Thessaly* gave Way, (or made a Recess or Opening) and all Things which were beyond *Isthmus*, and *Peloponesus*, were confused and troubled. I know the Interpreter of *Apollodorus* translates the Word *διίστηναι*, as though these Mountains had been free from a Deluge. But it is well known that those Things are said *διασπῆναι*, which make a Departure, and Opening. And so we meet with it in *Ziphilius's* Description of the Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which we have before-mentioned. *Κορυφὴς ὅπου διασπῶνται*, (says he,) The Top of the Mountain being rent away, or opening. Nor do I understand the Matter otherwise concerning the *Thessalian* Mountains: According to that

* *Περὶ τοῦ*

Saying

Saying of *Seneca* * The report that sometime *Ossa* was joined to *Olympus*, but afterwards was divided by an Earthquake, and the Greatness of one Mountain was cut into two Parts.

We meet with a remarkable Place in *Lucian*, concerning an Aperture of the Earth, in the Temple of *Hierapolis*: And about those sacred Rites which were instituted by *Deucalion* over it, in Memory of that Deluge; when *Lucian* had given the History of that Inundation according to the *Greeks*, he adds, These are the Things which the *Grecians* relate concerning *Deucalion*. As for those which followed afterwards, the Inhabitants of *Hierapolis* give us an Account of something very wonderful. Namely That there was a certain Earthquake, or Aperture in their Country, which swallowed up all that Water. When *Deucalion* saw this, he built *Altars*, and raised a Temple to *Juno* over that Aperture, and they give this Token to induce us to believe this History.

They carry Water twice every Year from the Sea into this Temple; and this is done not only by the Priests, but also many of the Inhabitants of *Syria* and *Arabia*, and the Countries beyond *Euphrates*, go to the Sea, and all fetch Water from thence. And first they pour it down in the Temple and then it flows into the Aperture, which although very small, yet receives an immense Quantity of Water. When they perform this, they say that *Deucalion* instituted this Law and Ceremony of the Temple, as a Monument both of that Destruction which

* Nat. Quest. Lib. vi. c. 25.

happened,

happened, and of his Deliverance; such is the ancient Report concerning this Temple.

Now this is a famous Monument of the Earth being broken up in *Noah's* Deluge; which Rupture was equally the Cause of Destruction and Preservation. For the Waters gushed out from that Aperture, and went into it again at the end of the Deluge. The Inhabitants of *Hierapolis* commemorate both; and like as *Noah*, when the Deluge was over, raised an Altar to the Lord *, so *Deucalion* is said to have built Altars, and a Temple to celebrate the Memory of this Transaction. Lastly, what a vast Conflux of People was there to perform this Ceremony at *Hierapolis*? Even more than ever resorted to *Jerusalem* at the time of the most solemn Feasts. And had the Inhabitants of the whole World met upon this Account, the Occasion had not been unequal to so great an Assembly; when, as we believe the old World being demolished, the Face of Nature was changed.

Nor did those of the Ancients, whom *Seneca* mentions, think otherwise of this great Calamity †. Nor did so great a Change fall out without a Concussion of the Earth. He is speaking concerning the universal Deluge, as some think, among whom *Fabian* is one. And in the 29th Chapter treating of the same Argument, he has these Words, “ Some suppose
“ the Earth also, was shaken and the Ground
“ being rent, new Heads of Rivers were discovered, which poured out abundantly, as

* Gen. viii. 20.

† Nat. Qu. Lib. iii. c. 27.

“ from a full and inexhaustible Abyfs. But these
 “ Things may suffice, as to the Aperture and
 “ Dissolution of the Earth in Deluges.

C H A P. V.

*Concerning the Strait Situation of the
 Primogenial Earth to the Sun; and
 those Properties which were Conse-
 quences of it: Such as a perpetual
 Spring, or continual Æquinox, through-
 out the whole Earth; a Heaven with-
 out Rain, or Rainbow; the Longevity
 of the first Men.*

WE have already made a twofold Distinc-
 tion between the primogenial and pre-
 sent Earth, as to the Shape and Situation:
 Now the Situation of it may again properly
 fall under a double Consideration; either with
 respect to its Structure and Position upon the
 Waters of the Abyfs, or with regard to the
 Sun and the Heavens. We have spoken con-
 cerning the former already; it remains that we
 treat concerning the latter, and consider it
 with respect to its Position towards Heaven.
 Now since this is a very material Question,
 whence other Differences and remarkable Con-
 ditions flow, we shall; enquire the more diligent-
 ly,

ly, whether, besides natural Reasons, the Ancients have not by their Authority confirmed this State of Nature.

The Ancients have delivered many Things concerning the Golden Age, and the Reign of *Saturn*, entirely different from our Age and present State of Nature: Which by Reason of Men's Ignorance of Causes, and the many Fables which were blended with them, were seldom believed. However, they who perceive on what Foundation that primogenial State of Things is supported, and from what Causes the Difference arises between that and the present, will easily distinguish the True Accounts from the Fabulous ones, and the Genuine from the Spurious: And having removed whatever is evil, they will, with an upright Mind joyfully embrace the rest, and esteem it as the most ancient Monument of Natural History.

We have in the *Second Book* of our *Theory*, sufficiently explained the primæval Earth, as to Physical Causes; now we are not here to repeat the Principles of the *Theory*, but the Conclusions: And what we are at present treating about is this, that the Position of the primæval Earth was strait, its Axis being always placed and retained in a parallel Line to the Axis of the *Ecliptick*, whence all the Motions of the Heavens were uniform, and the Course of the Year was pure and unmixed, without Differences of Seasons. We are now enquiring whether there yet remain any Footsteps of a Year of this Nature, or of such kind of Motions of Heaven, and of the present Mutation of Things.

We will begin with *Plato*, the Ornament of his Age and Country: Who for the most Part treats of Divine Matters, but occasionally pro-
pounds

pounds certain ancient Traditions, about the Natural World, its Periods, Catastrophes, and great Mutations, which, I suppose, in his Travels he collected from the *Egyptian* Priests. He treats chiefly on these Heads, in his Three Dialogues, concerning *Natural Philosophy*, *Government*, and the *Immortality* of the *Soul*. We are only here to treat concerning the latter; and first, as to his *REPUBLICK*, therein, under the Notion of a Fable, concerning the Age or Reign of *Saturn*, he represents the Twofold Order of the World, the Primitive and Present one. And he says that this Narration of his had been handed down from the most ancient Times, and our Ancestors who lived nearest to the first Revolution of the World *.

In this Discourse (as we said before) he takes Notice of a Twofold Age of the World, and a double State of Nature and human Affairs: The first under *Saturn*, and the other under *Jupiter*: And, what principally regards our present Purpose, he says, that in the Reign of *Saturn*, the Motions of the Heavens was uniform; and that this was the Cause and Foundation of the Golden Age, and the Felicity of Nature, as well as Mankind. But then afterwards, when the Wickedness of Men increased, the Nature of Things declined into a certain Disorder of the Heavens, which was the Spring and Original of those Evils which appeared in the Reign of *Jupiter* †. Then God changed the Universe into that Form which it now bears. Moreover, he says, that this twofold State of the Heavens is the Cause of all the Changes, how great soever they be, which hap-

* M. p. 271.

† Pag. 269.

pen to us on Earth. Therefore, when he had explained to us this twofold Order, he presently adds *, From what has been said, we may easily discern what that Thing or Passion was, which we affirmed to be the Cause of all wonderful Appearances. Now this is it, that the Motion of the Universe is sometimes carried as it now rolls, and at other times a contrary way. And he farther pursues the same Subject, in the following Words, We ought to look upon this to be the greatest and most consummate Change of all the Celestial Revolutions. Therefore we may reasonably suppose, that then the greatest Mutations should happen to us, who dwell within that very Heaven. There follows, after this, an obscure Comment, concerning our Bodies being weakened by this Change of the Course of the Heavens: And the future Renovation of the same, when the Heavens shall return to their regular Motion.

This is the first Head and Sum of the Matter, That the State of the sublunary World depends on the regular and irregular Motions of the Heavens. But we may observe, that what our Author attributes to the Heavens, ought really to be ascribed to the Earth alone, by whose strait or oblique Situation that Harmony or Incongruity arises in the Motions of the Heavens. Moreover, now the Motion of Heaven or Earth is changed, it is not turned backwards, as he seems to feign; but from strait, becomes oblique and bending; whence follow all Phænomena, which he attributes to the Heavens being driven back again. But let us proceed to farther Observations from

this principal Head ; others have derived, as particularly, in the first Place, an Equality of Times, or a Year calm and undisturbed, without any Difference of Seasons. This *Plato* has taken Notice of in the following Words, “ They for the most part dwelt naked, and without Beds, in the open Air ; for the Seasons of the Year were so temperate, that they received no Inconvenience from thence.” I know that *Serranus* renders this Place after a different Manner : But he has forsaken both the proper Meaning of the Words, and the Design of the Author, in this Paragraph. Farther, the Opinion of *Plato*, as to this Matter, may easily be seen, in his above-mentioned *Dialogue*, concerning the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, where he says, that the Seasons of the Year are there so temperate, that the Inhabitants are not troubled with any Distempers. *Proclus* here, instead of ἀλυπον, reads ἀλυτόν * ; yet he keeps to the same Sense, in these Words: For the four Seasons of the Year maintain a constant and indissoluble Temperature. Farther, I believe *Plato*, in another Place, refers to this Matter †, where he ascribes this beautiful State of the Year, which formerly obtained to a temperate Love, but the present disorderly Condition of it to an intemperate one. But we shall dwell no longer on a Matter which is so very clear.

Besides this, he mentions the spontaneous Fruitfulness of the Earth, and the Gentleness of wild Beasts, together with a divine Government || ; which famous Characters seem to be taken from

* Theol. Plat. lib. v. c. 7. m. p. 360.

† In Convivio. m. p. 288.

|| Pag. 271, 272.

the Prophet *Isaias* *. He often repeats his Account of this *Theocracy*, from whence he drew his whole Discourse, concerning the Alterations of Things. When he was about to treat of the Origin of Government, and the various kinds of it, he says, that in the first State of Things God himself was the only Ruler; but when Mankind degenerated, and the Order of Nature was perverted, God retired from the Government of the World, and as it were Abdicated himself from the Empire of the World, and gave Men a Permission to govern it after their own Way. These Things are expressed a little too freely; yet they justly point out to us the *Theocracy* of the first Age, as well as that which will be in the renewed World. And by these Things he tacitely reproves the unbridled Government of this present World, as tho' it took its Rise from the Instinct of some malignant Spirit.

Moreover, altho' *Plato*, in these Revolutions and Catastrophes of the World, mentions no Deluge nor Conflagration, yet he takes Notice of a mighty Concussion of Heaven and Earth, under this Alteration of Affairs; and that from this Concussion all Things were disturbed, and all Sorts of living Creatures were extinguished †. Which answers well enough to that Dissolution and Destruction which, according to our Opinion, was made in the Deluge, as well of the animate as inanimate World. Farther, he here evidently celebrates the future Renovation of the World, and the *Theocracy* which is to be resumed in that Age, in these Words, God again resumes the Govern-

* Chap. lxxv. 17, &c.

† Page 271.

ment of the World, and restoring those Parts of the World which had been distempered and broken in the preceeding Period, he beautifies and amends them; and so constitutes the Frame of Nature, as to render it Immortal, and free from Decay.

These Things manifestly refer to a *future Age*, to the new Heavens, and the new Earth, when the Golden Age should be received, and Primæval Nature restored, and Heaven and Earth appear exactly as before; the Deity being present, the Affairs of Mankind shall again flourish under the auspicious Influences of the divine Government, with equal Beauty and Happiness.

But enough as to this— We may observe, by the way, that though the Ancients were sensible of the Periods and Mutations of the World, yet they were not so well acquainted with the Number and Order of them. We learn from the holy Scriptures, that the World has been once destroyed by a Deluge, and shall again perish in the Conflagration; and that after this, there shall be no more Mutations: But the Ancients could not so readily enumerate and distinguish these. In a Word, to confess the Truth, there is a certain Confusion and Perplexedness in all the Heathen Archæology. And *Plato* has given us just Warning as to this Matter, we are now about *, All these Things (he had been speaking concerning the Alterations of the World, and the Reign of *Saturn*) proceed from the same Cause, and many other Things also more wonderful than these: But by Reason of the length of Time, the Remembrance of some of

* Page 269.

them is utterly extinct, and others, being dissipated and confused, are recited without any Order or Connection.

It will be useful to think seriously of this Admonition, not only while we are treating on this Argument, but also in our Enquiries after other ancient Matters. These Observations we meet with in *Plato's Republic*, concerning the regular and uniform Motion of the Heavens, or the Situation of the Earth, and the Equality of the Year in the first Ages of the World. There follows a like Place in his *Phadon*, or Treatise *Of the Immortality of the Soul*, which remains now to be examined. But it ought to be observed, as the first Theorem in this Matter, and the Foundation of what is said by *Plato*, as well in his Dialogue concerning Government, as that about the Immortality of the Soul, that there are two Constructions of the World, different in Form, and Situation. Which Diversity he chiefly explains in his *Republic*, with respect to the Heaven; but here, in his *Phadon*, he considers it with regard to the Earth, and under the Notion of a certain refined Earth, placed in *Æther*, he reckons up many Properties, which do by no means agree with this present Earth; but do excellently suit the primogenial Earth, or the new and future World. Now these Properties may be reduced to two Heads; its Situation, and Shape: And in both these Respects, they may fitly be accommodated to the primogenial Earth, but are entirely opposite to the present One.

In the first Place, as to the Situation; *Plato* supposes his *Æthereal* and *Paradisiacal* Earth, not only to be larger, but also much more sublime, than our present One, and seated, as it were, in the Sky.

Sky *. In like Manner as some of the Christian Fathers were of Opinion, that Paradise was much higher than our Earth, and lifted up almost to the Moon †. This seems to me only to shew that the first habitable World, which was built upon the Abyss, was really higher than the present one, and placed in a purer Heaven, as in Æther. When *Proclus* takes Notice of this World of *Plato's*, he says, that this Doctrine was delivered, by sacred Tradition, from the *Egyptians* ||. For so *Plato*, in the Person of *Socrates*, says in the Beginning of this Discourse; like as I have been taught by a certain Person. But *Plato* erred, in that he confounded two successive Worlds in one, and thought that those Cavities in which he says we dwell, existed at the same Time with that Æthereal Earth; when in Reality another Earth, which we now inhabit, arose from that first Æthereal one, after it had been broken and dissolved. The most habitable Parts whereof, are Fields, Valleys, and lower Places, which, in respect to Hills, or the first more sublime Earth, are mere Cavities. The Christian Fathers also fell into this very Mistake, because they thought that the terrestrial Paradise was yet extant; a sublime, lucid, and most lovely Region; whither they believe the Souls of the Pious were carried after Death. Which was likewise the Opinion of our Philosopher. But in sifting the Doctrines of the Ancients, and our Examinations either of Ecclesiastical or Prophane Antiquity, we should always be mindful of that Apostolical Precept, *Prove all Things*;

* Page 109.

† See Theory, B. 2. c. 9.

|| In Tim. &c. p. 56.

hold fast that which is good. For unless you are very careful in the Interpretation of ancient Writings, you will gain no great Benefit by them; they are all so decayed, mutilated, corrupted, or interpolated. But to go on with our Design: In the second Place, he says, that his *Æthereal Earth* was of a like Weight, and without any Declination. Which I understand to refer to its strait Situation, without any Obliquity. I know that this Passage of *Plato* is otherwise interpreted, and thought to refer to its Situation in the Middle of the Universe. But that *Equilibrium* and Stability which he mentions here, (as he had before done in his Description of the Reign of *Saturn* *) regards the Situation of its Axis, and not its Seat in the middle Heaven. And it appears that *Plato* (whatever he might afterwards believe in his old Age) when he wrote his Dialogue, followed the Hypothesis of the Earth's being at Rest, and its Situation in the Center of the World. Those Interpretations, therefore, are to be corrected, and reduced to the Rule of Truth, which flowed from that Mistake. And that our Observation, as to this Particular, is right, will more conspicuously appear from what immediately follows.

In the third Place therefore, he says, that the Seasons of the Year are there so temperate, that the Inhabitants are free from Distempers, and are much longer-lived, than those who dwell on our Earth. You see he here points out the Equality of the Year, and the long Lives of the Inhabitants in that Earth; which both agree to

* Polit. Pag. 270.

our primogenial World. And as that equal Temperature of the Seasons of the Year proceeds from a strait Situation of the Earth, so, as the Effect follows the Cause, the long Lives of the Inhabitants proceed from hence, as we have shewed at large in our *Theory* *.

Hitherto we have treated of the Situation of the *Platonick* Earth, we shall now a little consider those Things which concern the Shape of it, although they do not properly fall under this Head. In the first Place, he supposes † that Earth to be entire, and unhurt: But ours to be rent, corrupted and decayed. Moreover, he writes many Things about the subterranean Waters, and their Receptacles: And particularly mentions § one great Deep (or *Barathrum*) which extended almost through the whole Earth; receiving all the Waters like a pensile Vessel. Now this great Deep or *Tartarus*, unless you will have it a mere Fiction, seems to have taken its Rise from the imperfect and vitiated Memory of the great Abyfs, or *Tehom Rabbah*, which inwardly every where went about the primæval Earth; and was the greatest Vessel and Receptacle of Waters that ever was extant. But as for the other Observations which follow, concerning the Rivers of Hell, they have a strong Tincture of poetical Fiction.

But he talks in a pleasanter Strain, concerning the external Form of his Earth ||: For he says that the Superficies of that Earth is distinguished, or parted, into various Wreaths or

* Book 2. Chap. 2. & 3.

† Pag. 110.

§ Pag. 111.

|| Pag. 110.

Zones,

Zones, adorned with Variety of Colours; which are exceeding beautiful to behold, even at a Distance, one Part seems to be of a Purple Colour, another Golden, and a third appears Whiter than Snow; and lastly, another Part is embellished with a different Colour. So that the whole Body of Earth seems to glitter in a wreathed and painted Vest. He says moreover, that there are every where Jewels and little lucid Bodies; which imitate Onyx Stones, Jaspers, and Emeralds *, or exceed them in Beauty. If you ask what the meaning of these Things are; I answer, they shew that the primogenial Earth was evidently divided into two Zones or Girdles: which surrounded its whole Body like swadling Bands, and each of them, according to its different Quality and Disposition, reflected the Sunbeams one Way, and another; and by this means appeared to those who beheld them at some Distance, to shine with a Variety of Colours. We may observe some of these Sort of Wreaths in the Planet *Jupiter*, (which seems to me to be yet in its primogenial State, and has not hitherto undergone any Dissolution, or Deluge) but by Reason of the vast Distances and the Weakness of our Eyes, we cannot from our Earth discern any Thing beside Black and watry Zones, which appear like so many Blots.

Lastly, some perhaps may imagine, that when *Plato* talks of his *Æthereal Earth's* being adorned with Jewels, and filled and beautified with splendid Bodies, he is only indulging a sportive Imagination. But I have often observed (with Admi-

ration) that the Prophets and Sacred Authors always made use of these Figures, in their Descriptions of Paradise, as well as of the *New Jerusalem*, and adorned this Subject with Jewels. Thus did *Moses* *, *Ezekiel* †, and especially *St. John* ||; as if all Things in that State were irradiated with a new and excellent Light, or for the most part were transparent. As by the Help of a Microscope we see the Brightness and Colours of all Jewels in Sand, little Stones, or Animals, so it might come to pass that, the Eye-sight being strengthened, and the Mind having a Power of forming the same into all the Figures of Glasses, Objects might appear no less splendid and gaudy to the naked Eyes, than now they are represented by the help of Art and Glasses. But these Things may suffice, as to our Conjectures in finding out the Meaning of *Plato*.

It only remains, to shew, that *Plato* in his *Republick*, has described the Face of Nature which is past, under the Reign of *Saturn*: But in his *Phadon*, or Treatise Of the Immortality of the Soul, he rather delineates the future one in the renewed World. But since the Face of Nature has much the same Appearance (as we have shewn in our *Theory* §) in both these, and the Resemblance is so great between the primogenial Heavens and Earth, and those new and future ones, those Phænomena about which *Plato* philosophises (namely, those Things which concern the Form and Situation of the Earth) in this or the other Dialogue, may be accommodated to either of them.

* Gen. ii.

§ Book iv. c. 2.

† Chap. xxviii. 13.

|| Rev. xxi.

Other Authors have said many Things very well upon this Argument; but *Plato* is worthy to enter upon the Stage singly, and take it up wholly to himself. We will therefore make room for the rest in the following Chapter.

C H A P. VI.

The Testimonies of other ancient Authors, concerning the Change made in the Situation of the Earth, or Heaven, it being formerly strait, but now oblique; and the Phenomena that proceed from thence.

THE remaining Witnesses of Truth which are now to follow, may be distributed into their proper Classes, since they are many, and of a different Order. The Philosophers may deservedly march at the Head of the Troop, who have so often informed us of this Change of the Earth's Situation, or the Declination of the Pole. In this Class are *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Diogenes*, *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*; who were either antienter than our *Plato*, or Contemporaries with him. We have brought express Testimonies from these, in the second Book of our *Theory*, which we need not repeat to observant Readers; and we refer those who have forgotten them to the tenth Chapter of that Book. We shall only here
give

give this Warning, That in the citing these Witnesses we are only enquiring into Facts, and not into the Causes of them: Nor do we expect these Philosophers should give us the Reasons why this Situation of the Earth was changed, since they themselves were ignorant in this Matter: But we produce them as acquainting us with what they received from other learned Men, by a Sort of Literary Tradition, concerning the Situation of the Earth or Pole's being changed. But we neither seek after, nor much regard their Conjectures, as to the Causes of so great an Alteration.

Nor can I help believing that, that most ancient Report concerning the Torrid Zone's being uninhabitable, and our being forbid to have any Commerce with the other Part of the World, flowed from this Original. The Ancients called whatever was beyond the Torrid Zone, another World; and imagined that those Antipodes were of another Kind than the Inhabitants of our Earth. And because the Torrid Zone was between, they reckoned that it was not only uninhabitable, but also inaccessible; we have given Examples of Both elsewhere, from the Ancients, and our *Theory* gives the apparent Cause of Both: For in these Mistakes of the Ancients we may discern the Footsteps of Truth. The Earth, in its first State, was cut into two Parts, and divided by the Torrid Zone, (which always lay under the Sun,) as by a burning Wall, into two Worlds. But when the Earth changed its Position towards the Sun, that middle Zone became passable and habitable. But the People who dwelt in After-Ages being most of them ignorant of this Mutation, retained the same Opinion concerning the Solitude and intolerable Heat of the Middle Regions of the Earth,
till

till it was found by Navigation, and certain Experiments, that those Parts of the Earth were much more temperate than they were commonly reported to be; and that they afforded convenient Habitations, as well for Mankind, as other living Creatures.

The Ancients have celebrated, among the Inventions of Astronomers, the Obliquity of the Zodiac, and the Seasons of the Year; now had not these Phænomena been in some measure new, the Observation of them would have deserved no Praise. They are both ascribed to *Thales*, a most excellent Man, and the Chief of Philosophers and Astronomers. They report (says *Laertius*) that he first found out the Seasons of the Year. And in another Place, he says, that *Thales* also first found out the Course of the Sun, from Tropic to Tropic, or from Turning to Turning. Whence *Apuleius* * says, that this Philosopher, (*Thales*,) among other Things, discovered the Revolution of Times, the oblique Courses of the Stars, and the annual Bye-Pathes of the Sun. I know *Pliny* says, that *Anaximander* first observed the Obliquity of the Zodiac †. *Plutarch* ascribes it to *Pythagoras*; contrary to the Opinion of *Oenopides* ‖. Now *Diodorus* says §, that this *Oenopides* learnt the Obliquity of the Zodiac, among other Points of Astronomy, from the *Egyptian* Priests and Astrologers. What many contend for, in my Opinion ought to be given to the Eldest; namely, our *Thales*: For since he first of all foretold Eclipses, it appears that he knew the Courses of the Sun and Moon, and the Turnings and Circuits of both. Now if these

* Florid. 4. † Lib. ii. c. 8. ‖ Plac. Philos. l. 2. c. 12.
§ Lib. i. sub fine.

Stars had kept the same Courses from the Beginning of the World, I believe they would never have lain hid till the Days of *Thales*.

The Invention also of Dialling, is celebrated by the Ancients. Now it is a Work of Art and Ingenuity, to bring the Motions of Shadows under a regular Consideration, in an oblique Situation of the Earth. But in a strait one, a Matter of lesser Moment; where all, as I imagine, would be like *Asciants* *. Moreover, alternate Equinoxes and Solstices, and the Rising and Setting of the Stars, according to the different Seasons of the Year; these, and such like Appearances, are the Phænomena of an Earth made crooked; which were not so from the Beginning. And I am of Opinion, that the ancient Astronomers chiefly employed themselves in observing these new Phænomena, and in bringing them to a Calculation; and their Inventions which are recorded, principally concern such Heads as these. But the greater Part of the History of the Growth of Astronomy is lost, from whence a fuller Knowledge of these Things might have been derived. *Eudemus's* History of Astronomers is lost, which *Laertius* takes Notice of, in his Account of *Thales*. Nor have the Astronomical Tracts of *Theon of Smyrna* as yet seen the Light: And other ancient Writers upon this Argument, still lie hid, or are entirely lost. Lastly, if on the other Side, we had the Doctrine of the Ante-diluvian Sphere, as well Celestial as Terrestrial, clearly drawn out before our Eyes, we might be able to form a more certain Judg-

* The Inhabitants of the *Torrid Zone*, who twice a Year have the *Sun* in their *Zenith* at Noon-day; their Bodies, at that time, casting no Shadow: From hence deriving the Name of *Ascii*.

ment,

ment, concerning the Novelty of many Phænomena. But to return from this Digression.

They who have written concerning the Golden Age, and the Reign of *Saturn*, plainly tell us, that then the Year was uniform, and the Spring perpetual. But when that Kingdom and Age departed, the Year became various, or was divided into four Parts, as it is at present ; and a new Government of Nature was introduced. When *Ovid* is speaking about the *Golden Age* of *Saturn*, he says, —*Ver erat Æternum, &c.* And afterwards, when that Reign and Order of Things was ended, he says.

*Jupiter antiqui contraxit tempora Veris,
Perque Hyemis Æstusque & inequales Autumnos,
Et breve Ver, Spatiis exegit quatuor Annum.*

When good Old *Saturn*, banish'd from Above,
Was driv'n to Hell, the World was under *Jove*.
Then *Summer*, *Autumn*, *Winter* did appear ;
And *Spring* was but a Season of the Year.

DRYDEN.

Virgil, and other Poets, have sung the same Things, whether they took them from the Writings of the Ancients, or from the Tradition and Discourses of their own Times.

And in their Descriptions of the *Elysian* Fields, after this Life, they join the Clemency of the Heavens and the Delight of a perpetual Spring, according to the Model of our Paradise, or their own *Golden Age* : There is neither Cold nor Heat ; nor will they admit of any Inconstancy of Seasons, or Storms of what Nature soever. *Homer* thus describes his *Elysium*.

Ἄλλα

Ἀλλὰ ὃ ἐς Ἠλύτιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρηλα γαίης
 Ἀδάνατοι τίμψουσιν ὁδί, ξανθὸν Ῥαδάμανθον.
 Τῇ περ ῥῆσιν βιοτὴν πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν,
 Οὐ νιφετὸς ἔτ' αἶε χειμῶν πολὺς ἔτε ποτ' ἔμβροτος.
 Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζέφυροιο λιγυπνεύοντας αἰήτας
 Ὀκεανὸς ἀνίσχιν ἀναψύχων ἀνδρωπύς.

The Gods will send thee to the *Elysian* Fields,
 And utmost Bounds of Earth, where *Rhadamanthus*
 In awful State and yellow Lustre shines.
 There Men enjoy a sweet and happy Life;
 No Wintry Storms can stain their blooming Joys;
 The peaceful Ocean sends perpetual *Zephyrs*
 To bless th' Inhabitants with tuneful Murmurs.

The Opinion of the *Essenes*, is of a near Affinity with these Descriptions; and from hence they seem to have borrowed their Notions about the happy Fields prepared for pious Souls*. When they are set free from the Bonds of the Flesh, (he is speaking of Souls) they are, according to the Opinion of the *Essenes*, immediately filled with Joy, as being delivered from a long Servitude, and are carried upwards. And they also affirm (agreeing in this with the Notion of the *Greeks*) that pious Souls lead their Lives beyond the Ocean, in a Region which is neither disturbed by Snow, Rain, or Heat; but pleasant *Zephyrs* breathing from the Ocean continually refresh it.

Virgil after the like manner describes the *Elysian* Fields†.

* Jos. de Bel. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 12.

† *Aeneid* vi.

*Devenere Locos lätos & amana vireta
 Fortunatorum Nemorum, Sedesque beatas,
 Largior hic Campos Æther & Lumine vestit
 Purpureo : Solemque suum, Sua Sydera norunt.*

— They took their Way,
 Where long extended Plains of Pleasure lay;
 The verdant Fields with those of Heaven may vie;
 With Æther vested, and a purple Sky.
 The blissful Seats of happy Souls below;
 Stars of their own, and their own Suns, they know.
DRYDEN.

When *Virgil* treats concerning the Shades beneath, he must be understood in a large Sense, as when the *Greeks* talk *πρὸς τὴν Ἀδ'ην*; which signifies rather the State than the Place of departed Souls; and thus *Virgil* uses the Word *Inferi*. For what have Shades and subterranean Places to do with the Sun and Stars? With a spacious Sky, and a purple Light? These belong to airy Places, which lie open to the Sun. And here, I believe that *Virgil*, as well as in many other Places, has imitated *Plato*; and that the *Platonic* or *Æthereal* Earth, which he has before mentioned, is shadowed out in this Place; for that was irradiated with a greater Light, and enjoyed a Sun and Heaven of its own, different from what we have at present; as we have shewn out of *Plato*. Let us hear the Comment of *Servius* *, upon another Place of *Virgil*.

The Commentator *Pius* says, that *Elysium*, as described by *Homer*, (agreeable to the Apprehen-

* Lib. v.

sions of Divines) was advanced about the Lunar Circle; where the Air is purer; whence *Virgil* himself says, ——— *In Fields of Air, &c.*

The Work intituled *Etymologicum Magnum*, takes Notice of this *Pius*, who was one of the Commentators on *Homer*, under the Words *περὶ πῦρ*, and *αἰθήρ*; but I cannot find his Name mentioned any where else. But many of the Christian Fathers* affirmed that Paradise was lifted up to the Lunar Circle: And this Way of speaking obtained on both Sides. Thus *Lutan* sings, concerning the Receptacles of Souls.

*Quaque patet, Terras inter Lunæque Meatus
Semelei Manes habitant: quos ignea virtus
Innocuos, vitâ patientes Ætheris Imi
Fecit, & Aternos Animam Collegit in Orbes.*

Far in those azure Regions of the Air,
Which border on the rolling starry Sphere;
Beyond our Orb, and nearer to that Height
Where *Cynthia* drives around her silver Light.
Their happy Seats the Demi-Gods possess,
Refin'd by Virtue, and prepar'd for Bliss.

ROWE.

But thus much may suffice, as to the Poets. Let us now hear *Plutarch* †, discoursing concerning the fortunate Islands (the same in Reality with *Elysium*) but under a newer Name. They have (says he) moderate Showers, and they fall but seldom; but for the most part they have soft and dewy Winds,

* See Theory, Book ii. c. 9.

† In Vit. Sertor. m. pag. 571, 572.

whence the Region becomes exceeding fruitful, and is not only a very rich Soil to Plant or Sow in, but also freely yields such Fruit, without Labour or Husbandry, as is sufficient to nourish the Inhabitants with its Sweetness and Plenty. The Air which surrounds these Islands, is so temperate, that the People who dwell there, can never receive any Inconvenience from it. See here the principal Qualities of our Paradise, the Golden Age of the Ancients, and the primogenial or future World. And *Plutarch* makes use of almost the very same Words, to adorn his *Elysium*, which *Plato* had set down in the Description of his *Æthereal Earth*. *Plato* had told us, that the Seasons of the Year were there so temperate, that the Inhabitants received no Damage by lying Abroad. And *Plutarch* here says, that the Air which surrounds these Islands is so moderate, that the People who dwell there cannot receive any Inconvenience from it; so that we need not doubt but that both these Authors had the same Place or State in their View.

There is a famous Passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, which I cannot pass by; where, under the Name and History of the *Toprabanian Island*, he has given us a most lively Draught of the Earthly Paradise, the *Elysian Fields*, or the first or last Earth. There is (says he) the most excellent Temperature of the Heavens (for they dwell under the *Æquinox*;) neither are they disturbed with Heat or Cold. All Sorts of Fruit hang ripe on the Trees throughout the Year. The Days and Nights are there perpetually equal. Nor do Shadows fall from any thing at Noon, because the Sun is vertical. And such is the Virtue of this Island, and the Benignity of the Air, that it produces, of its own accord, sufficient Sustenance. The Inhabitants usually prolong their
Lives,

Lives, without being troubled with any Distemper, to the Term of an hundred and fifty Years.

These Things agree with no Climate or Region of this present Earth. They only now enjoy an Equality of Day and Night throughout the Year, who dwell in the Torrid Zone, and under the Equinoctial Line. Which indeed is a habitable Place, but is neither without Heat nor Showers; but is obnoxious to fierce Storms. Besides, they who dwell under the Torrid Zone, live no longer than the Inhabitants of other Places: Nor are they free from Poverty or Distempers. These Characters therefore are only suited to an universal Æquinox, or an Earth in a strait Situation; which the Ancients first adapted to their *Elysian* Fields, and afterwards to other Regions. Nor does it prejudice our Interpretation, that the Author here makes the Inhabitants of this Island, *Asciants*, happy; for all that dwell on a strait Earth would be like them, because they would reflect no Shadows, as often as the Sun was in their Meridian, as we observed before. Nor, lastly, let this Consideration give you any Difficulty, that these Authors suppose those Things to be actually existing, which are now abolished. In this the Christian Fathers are mistaken, as well as Heathen Authors. There now remains no terrestrial Paradise: There are no *Elysian* Fields beyond the Ocean. And it is much the same thing whether you take these Characters of *Elysium* by the Heathens, to refer to the past or future Paradise; to the first Golden Age, or the future one, which is to be revived. The same Matter returns, the same Scene is to be repeated, a few Things only being changed for the better. However, this we may observe, that when the Ancients described their Paradises, or *Elysian* Fields, they always laid

down this as a Foundation, that the State of the Heavens and the Air was equal and temperate.

These Things may suffice, as to the Heathen Writers, whether Philosophers or Poets. The Jewish and Christian Authors are next to be summoned. Now these do not talk concerning the Golden Age, or the Reign of *Saturn*, but concerning Paradise, and the Garden of the Lord. The Titles are different, but the Matter is the same; which will easily appear, if you consider the Phænomena of both, and compare them with one another. All evil and noxious Things were banished from Paradise, and all the Fruits of the Earth sprung up of their own accord. Just thus it was in the Reign of *Saturn*, or the Golden Age. Men lived in a *Theocracy*, without human Laws, in both Estates, open and naked, as well in Body as in Mind. Lastly, they led a long and peaceful Life, in a serene Air. This was the Face of Nature, and human Affairs, in the first Ages of the World, by what Name soever you shall please to call this Order of Things. But what chiefly concerns our Argument, they fix upon a perpetual Spring, and an uninterrupted *Æquinox*. We have already shewn this, with Reference to the Reign of *Saturn*: And Jews, as well as Christians, testify the same concerning Paradise. As to the Jews, consult, if you please, *Is. Abarbanel*, on the second Chapter of *Genesis*; and *Aben Ezra*, on the same Place; and also on the sixty sixth Chapter of *Isaias*; as also *Maimonides**, and *Manasses Ben Israel*†. To these you may also add, at your Leisure, the Testimony of a late Author||, concerning the Jews and *Arabians*. The *Arabians*

* In cap. x. Sanhedr.

† De Creatione, cap. xvii.

|| *Abrahams Echelenasis Hist. Arab. c. ix.*

(says

(says he) say that the World was created in the Æquinox, or Paradise was placed under the Æquinoctial Line; or that both of them concurred: For they continually divide the Day into twelve Hours. And the Jews are of the same Opinion; For when the Jewish Doctors had made the Days and Nights to be equal in Paradise, without ever being increased or diminished, and that rightly, some of them placed their *Gan-Eden* in the Middle Region of the Earth, under our present Æquinox, since by Reason of their Ignorance of the Disposition of that first World, they could not otherwise account for a perpetual Æquinox in Paradise.

Indeed certain of the Jews sometimes tell us that *Gan-Eden* is in the East; but they mean the Æquinoctial Orient, where the Sun rises in the Beginning of the Spring. This we learn from *Moses Bar Cepha**, who thus explains the Matter: There are some who conclude that Paradise is in the East, because they who are willing to build Temples or Houses towards the East, so manage it, that the Building may be open to the Rising-Sun, in the Month *Nisan* (which answers to our *April*;) because in that Month the Sun rises above the Place of Paradise.

You see here, that in discoursing on this Subject they speak of the Vernal Equinox, or the Place where the Sun rises in the Spring, under the Name of the *East*.

Thus much, briefly, as to the *Jews*. And this Opinion, concerning the Equinoctial Situation of Paradise, was very common among the *Christians*; as sometimes appears from their express Words.

* De Parad. cap. 13.

However, since they exclude all Vicissitudes of Seasons from Paradise, that is a sufficient Sign that they thought there was a perpetual Equinox, either in that Earth, or that Region of the Earth. *Tatian* *, in his Oration against the *Greeks*, when he had distinguished Paradise from this present Earth, removes from all Mutations of the Air and the Year, and draws his Paradisiacal World after the Model of *Plato's* Ethereal Earth. — Above the inferior Heavens there is (says he) a more excellent World, where there never happens any Change of the Seasons of the Year, which is the Occasion of many Distempers which trouble us : But it is indued with a most pleasant Temperature, it has a permanent Day, and shines with a Light inaccessible to earthly Men. We find a like Account of Paradise in *Suidas* †, whencesoever it was taken. — Paradise (says that Author) is higher than all the Earth, and of a more excellent Temperament, ever shining with a most refined and pure Air, and continually adorned with verdant Plants.

It would be very easy to abound in Citations of Authors of this Class, but it is better, in a Matter so well known, to contract many in one Place : As *Bellarmin* || has before done when he was disputing against Paradise's being situated in *Mesopotamia*. * Moreover, (says he) Paradise is so described by “ *St. Basil*, in his Book about Paradise ; and by “ *J. Damascene*, (in his second Book concerning “ Faith, eleventh Chapter ;) by *St. Augustin*, (in “ his fourteenth Book, tenth Chapter, of *the City “ of God* ;) by *Alchimus Avitus* and *C. Marius Victor*,

* M, p. 150. † In voc. || De Grat. prim. Hom. c. 12.

“ and

“ and others above cited ; by *Isidore*, (*Etymol.*
 “ third Chapter ;) and indeed, by all Writers in
 “ general on this Subject, as a Place where the
 “ Spring was perpetual. There was no Cold, no
 “ Heat, no Rain, Snow, or Hail, nor was there
 “ even any Clouds ; which the Scripture also
 “ points out to us, when it represents our first
 “ Parents, as Naked, in Paradise — Which makes
 “ me wonder the more, that *Luther*, who in his
 “ Comment on the second Chapter of *Genesis*,
 “ writes, that there was no Winter in Paradise,
 “ but a perpetual Spring, should yet contend that
 “ Paradise was in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, or
 “ *Damascus* ; in which Countries there could ne-
 “ ver have been a perpetual Spring, unless the
 “ Course of the Sun had been different from what
 “ it is at present ”.

He certainly rightly concluded, that a perpetual Spring could never have obtained either in *Mesopotamia*, or in any other Regions beyond the Equinoctial Line, unless the Course of the Sun had been different from what it now is ; or, which comes to the same Thing, there had been another Situation of the Earth.

No other Hypothesis therefore answers the Opinions of the ancient Christians about the Seat of Paradise, but that which we have fixed under the Equinox ; or which makes that whole Earth, having a strait Position towards the Sun, to be Equinoctial.

These Things the Ancients expressly testify, concerning a perpetual Spring and Equinox in Paradise, and the first Age. But the Equality of Seasons in the first Ages of the World, appears by other Evidences no less certain, and which are common to us with foreign Writers. I pass by the spontaneous

spontaneous Fertility of the Earth, and perpetual Fruits, inseparable from every *Elysium*. Though the Nature of these Things is utterly inconsistent with the Vicissitudes of our Year, and requires an equal and unchanged Sun. The Ancients likewise attributed the spontaneous Birth of Animals in the Beginning of the World, to the Temperature and Harmony of the Air.

Phurnutus * meant the same Thing, when in the Beginning of the World he supposes all Things to have been drawn out of the Earth by the Providence of God, and the Harmony of Nature. According to this Providence, all Things were made, and Men sprung out of the Earth; which had been fitly prepared for this Production, in the first Constitution of the World.

Lactantius † handles this Argument at large, and when he had objected to the Philosophers, that Men could not have been born out of the Earth, by Reason of the sharp Cold in Winter, great Heat in Summer; he answers according to the Opinion of the Ancients; they say (says he) that in the Beginning of the World, there was neither Winter nor Summer, but a perpetual Temperature, and equal Spring. This was really the Opinion of the Ancients. But *Lactantius* justly insists, that this very Order and Provision is a sufficient Proof that some Divine Reason presided over the Originals of Things. Lastly, to conclude this Matter, the Ancients feigned that the *Earth* was the *Wife* of *Heaven*, and that when both were fresh and flourishing they begot a numerous Offspring, as well of Plants as Animals, which arose with-

* De Natura Deorum, lib. 1. cap. de Promotheo.

† Lib. 2. c. 12.

out Seed. But afterwards, when this Vigour decayed, Heaven was said to be castrated; because it could not, as before, by its own Strength freely produce Trees or Animals; but all Things were, thenceforward, propagated by Culture and Sowing.

The *Longevity* of the *Ancients*, and the stable and continual Forms of all Things, in the primæval World, are also manifest Tokens of a temperate and equal Heaven; as we learn, not only from sacred but prophane Writings. *Aristotle* has observed, that the Generation and Corruption of Things proceeds from an unequal Motion of the Heavens *. And his Observation is certainly right, especially with Reference to the Destruction of Things. For the fading Life, Vanity, and Corruption of all Things, especially Animals, proceed from an oblique Motion of the Heavens, or, if you had rather, of the Earth. An Anonymous Author in *Photius*, concerning the Life of *Pythagoras* †, refers to this Place of *Aristotle*. The Zodiac (says he) is carried with an oblique Motion, as *Aristotle*, after long Search, seems to have found out; for the Generation of those Creatures which are brought forth in diverse Regions of the Earth, to make the Universe compleat. For if it were carried in a strait and parallel Motion with the other Parts of Heaven; the Season of the Year would always be the same; either Winter, Summer, or some other.

And indeed, without the oblique Motion of the Sun, or the Earth, the Face of the Year would always be the same; because it would preserve all Things from sudden or anniversary Corruptions.

* De Gen. & Cor. Lib. 2. c. 10.

† Cod. 259.

And since there is no place for the Generation of one Thing, but by the Corruption of another, Generations of new Things would be very rare in that Order of Nature. This Anonymous Author expounds this somewhat grossly, in the following Pages. And as he numbers this among the Doctrines of *Pythagoras*, he did ill in making *Aristotle* to be the Inventor of it.

Baptista Mantuanus * has explained the Opinions of the ancient Astronomers about this Matter; and accommodated them to our present Subject, as to the Longævity of the Ancients who lived before the Flood. He says, that all the Heavens had the same Center, and were uniform in their Motion, before the Deluge. And that the Zodiacs of the *Primum Mobile*, and the Firmament or Planets were joined together. By this beneficial Aspect of the Heavens, all sublunary Things, at that Time, were indued with a more vigorous Life and Strength. His Words are these. For they, (speaking of the *Antediluvians*,) as appears by Astronomy and Experience, had more propitious Heavens. For Astronomers affirm, that there are two Zodiacs; one in the Ninth Sphere, and the other in the Eighth, which they call the Firmament. And in the beginning of Times were so disposed by God, that *Aries* might be joined to *Aries*, *Taurus* to *Taurus*, and *Gemini* to *Gemini*: And the Strength of both Zodiacs being joined in one, it had a stronger Influence upon Earth; by which means, without doubt, the Herbs were more wholesome, the Fruits of the Earth better, and the Lives of the Animals longer. But after that, their Society being dissolved

* De. Pati. Lib. ii. c. 37.

by Motions, they departed one from the other, the whole inferiour World sickned.

These Things plainly agree with what was before spoken by *Plato*, concerning the Reign of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*. For he ascribes all the Weakness of Nature, and Distempers of this inferiour World, to the Disorder of the Heavens. And they who understand the Philosophy of the Heavens, very well know how to explain these various Expressions, concerning the Inequality of the Celestial Motions, their Incongruency and Obliquity; and that the Obliquity of the Heavens, the Zodiac, or the Course of the Sun, comes all to one Thing; and upon serious Examination they will all be reduced to the Obliquity of one Earth.

Thus much as to the Causes of the Longævity of those who dwelt in the first Age of the World: The Truth of it has sufficiently been made to appear, by the Testimonies of Others*. But when I wrote those Things, I had forgotten one Evidence from *Orpheus*; which *Procleus* has preserved for us, in his Explication of the Reign of *Saturn*; and brings the *Grecian* as well as barbarous Divines, as Witnesses of the same Fact †, in the following Words. “ Since the Divines, and even “ those among the barbarous Nations, say that “ this Order is attended with a Life free from old “ Age, according to the Opinion of *Orpheus* the “ *Grecian* Divine, (for he mystically asserted that the Hairs of *Saturn*’s Beard were always *Black*, and never became *Gray*,) I wonder that *Plato* should say the same things concerning this God, which have been affirmed by those who exactly followed

* Theory, B. ii. c. 1, 3.

† Theory, B. v. c. 10.

the Steps of *Orpheus*: For he says, “ that in the
 “ Reign of *Saturn* Men cast off their *Old Age*,
 “ and returning again to *Youth*, put off their *Hoari-*
 “ *ness*, and had *Black Hairs*. ” *Orpheus* elegantly
 gives us a like Account of the Reign of this God.

———— Τὸ Ζηνὶ Κροτωνι
 Ἀθάνατον αἰῶνα καμῆν καθαροῖο γενεῖς
 ——— δ' ἐρᾶς χαίτας ἰσώδ' εἰας ἔδ' εἰ
 ——— ηπιδ'ανοῖο μιγήμεναι ἄνδρα λευκῶ
 ——— ἀλλ' ἐρδ'ηλία λάχνην.

They say, that Men, in *Saturn*'s happy Reign,
 Pass'd an immortal Age in lasting Pleasures.
 Then soft and beauteous Hairs adorn'd their Chins,
 Diffusing Sweets and grateful Odours round;
 There was no Mixture of declining Gray,
 To shade the Gloss of florid downy Beauties.

Proclus, according to his usual Method, dissolves
 all these Things into Allegories. But yet, among
 sincere Interpreters, they will bring no Prejudice
 to the Truth of the History.

Now, to put an End to this Chapter, we may
 observe, That to what Nations soever the Anci-
 ents attributed this Longævity, to the same also
 they gave an equal and temperate Heaven, as the
 Cause of it, and the great Support of their Lives;
 as we may see in the Account of the *Brachmans*,
 by *Suidas* and *Palladius*; in the History of the *Ta-*
probanians, by *Diodorus Siculus*; and in the Descrip-
 tion of the *Hyperboreans*, by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Strabo*,
 and many others; and in *Plato*'s Account of those
 who dwelt under the Reign of *Saturn*. By which
 the Ancients sufficiently testify, that Nature, in their
 Opinion, has joined these two, and that the one
 depends

depends upon the other, according to the Laws of the Universe; so that granting either of them, you may easily know that the other will follow or accompany it. Nor let any one be offended, because I make our Paradise to be the same as the Heathens *Elysian* Fields; for the Fathers of the Christian Church frequently affirm the same, and in this Point (as well as in many others) they accuse the Heathen Authors of Plagiarism. We will hear, if you please, *Nazianzen*, speaking for the rest ||: The *Greeks* (says he) have taken their Fictions of *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, of their flowery Meadows and *Elysian* Fields, from the Account of our Paradise, and the Books of *Moses*, delivering the same thing, under different Names. The Conclusion of the Matter is this; As ancient Fables had usually something of Truth for their Foundation, so it seems to me that the Primogenial Earth gave a Handle to many fabulous Narrations. This was a true Thing, of which the Ancients retained some Shadow or Twilight; and from the Remembrance and imperfect Notion of such a desirable Thing, they feigned new Worlds, or Regions after the Model of this Primogenial Earth; and those for the most Part inaccessible Places, beyond the Ocean, in the Air, or under-ground; lest they should be convicted of Error by Eye-Witnesses. As for instance, the *Ogygian* Island in *Plutarch* *; The lovely Island placed on high above *Thule*, which we find mentioned by *Ant. Diogenes*; The Region of the *Hyperboreans*, near the Moon; celebrated by almost all Historians; The Land of *Silenus*, from *Theopompus* †, ἰζω τὰς τῶ κοσμοῦ;

|| In Vit. Bas. Mag. Cod. 166.

* De Fac. in orb Lum. Phot. Bibl. † *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. iii. c. 18.

besides

besides the *Elysian* Fields, and pensile Gardens of *Alcinous*; whence *Celsus* supposes that our Paradise was taken. Now the Heathen Paradises of this Nature, do not only bear the more evident Marks of our Primogenial Earth, such as a perpetual Spring, and large Increase of the Earth, together with the long Lives of the Inhabitants; but they have also some secondary and smaller Tokens of it; as for instance, they supposed that habitable World to hang in a different Manner from what this does; that it was of a sublimer Situation, and that it was blessed with a serene Sky, undisturbed by Clouds or Rain. These Things they have common with us: And they add other Delights, every Man according to his Genius and Inclination. And under all these they present us, as it were, on painted Tables, with the Effigies of the *First* and *Golden* Earth, though it be drawn with a coarser Pencil.



FINIS.



THE
Immobility of the Earth
DEMONSTRATED.
BY
REASONS

Drawn from the Established RULES of
Physics, Mechanics, *and* Geometry.

PROVING

The EARTH to be in the *Center* of the *Universe*; and, That all the *Celestial Bodies* perform their Diurnal Motions round IT, and not the SUN.

In Opposition to the *Solar System*.

THE
JOURNAL OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF

BY

REASONS

OF THE

REASONS

OF THE

OF THE

A
LETTER

T O
Mr. F O X T O N.

S I R,

THE Version, with which you
are now obliging the Public,
of that Part of Dr. *Burnet's*
ARCHÆOLOGIA which is *A Com-
mentary upon his own Theory of the*
Earth; may not unfitly be accompa-
nied with the Translation I here send
you of a small but curious Tract, writ-
ten by Monsieur JONCHERE, intituled,
DEMONSTRATION *de L'IMMOBILITEZ*
de la TERRE.

The Author is now resident in *London*; his Profession that of an Engineer; and his Age, as I am told, not above Thirty. He has published Proposals for Printing by Subscription, in four Volumes in *Octavo*, in *Latin* and *French*, *A NEW System of Philosophy*, which subverts all the *OLD Ones*. A material Branch of this *NEW System* he has given us under the above-mentioned *Title*, of which, as well as his *Large Work*, what follows are the Particulars.

I am, SIR,

ST. MICHAEL,
1728.

Yours, &c.

J. M.

T H E

A U T H O R ' s Introduction.

ALthough the SCRIPTURE formally denies the *Mobility* of the EARTH, and the CHURCH, in all Ages, has been strenuously endeavouring to destroy the Opinions of all the *Philosophers* and *Astronomers* who would establish it; yet the Notions and Sentiments concerning the *Motion* of the *Earth*, have not failed so to possess People's Minds, that at this Day none dares call them in Question.

Since, therefore, neither the SCRIPTURE nor the CHURCH ~~are~~ able to prevent the Establishment of this Notion, which has been maintained by the greatest Men, it might seem Prudence in me not to attempt entering the List in its Opposition. Nevertheless, I am determined upon the Enterprize: And happy should I deem myself if in destroying an Opinion so universally received, I could render to the SCRIPTURE all the Luster of Truth, whereof, by these contrary Sentiments, it has thus long been deprived.

This is what I am about to make Tryal of, by Demonstrating, That the present *Astronomy* is without any solid Foundation: That the clearest *Principles* of *Physics*, *Mechanics* and *Geometry* are repugnant to the *Motion* of the EARTH: That it is inconceivable that this Opinion has so generally established itself, and that it should so long have supported itself, seeing that, consequently thereto, there is not so much as a single *Phænomenon* for which one probable Reason can be advanced: And which shall be demonstrably remarked throughout the whole Course of this *New SYSTEM*.

As to what regards this TRACT, I shall herein content myself with advancing only the principal Reasons which oppose the *Terrestrial Motion*, without producing any more of them than what may just serve as *Proofs* of the Error of that Opinion.

The EARTH's *Mobility* being the chief Object of the present SYSTEM, the Reader may judge, that all the different CHAPTERS of my PERFORMANCE will be so many different *Proofs* against the *Terrestrial Motion*; since they all tend towards the *Establishment* of the *New SYSTEM*, and, consequently, towards the Destruction of THAT which is, at this Day, so universally received.

R E A-

REASONS

Generally made Use of to prove the

MOTION of the EARTH:

WITH THEIR

ANSWERS.

REASON I.

“ **T**HAT the EARTH being only, as
“ it were, a *Point*, in Comparifon
“ with the SUN, it is natural to
“ fuppose, that it muft rather turn round
“ that immense Planet, than that the SUN
“ fhould turn round It.”

ANSWER.

Had not *Philofophers* and *Aftonomers*
attributed to the *Celestial Bodies* exceffive
Magnitudes and Diftances, the prefent *Aftro-*
nomy could not poffibly have eftablifhed it-
felf. This is what fhall be proved in the

8 *The* IMMOBILITY of

New SYSTEM. But as these Magnitudes and Distances are only the Products of Policy and Imagination, they can in no wise serve to determine the *Motion* of the Earth.

R E A S O N I I.

“ That it is more easy and rational for the
 “ EARTH to revolve round the SUN, in 365
 “ Days, 5 Hours, 48 Minutes and 52 Se-
 “ conds, and at the same time round its own
 “ Center, in 24 Hours, than to make the
 “ SUN perform a Diurnal Revolution round
 “ the EARTH.”

A N S W E R.

It is not possible, by any *Physical, Mechanical* or *Geometrical* Reason, to demonstrate, that the EARTH can turn round its *Center* in 24 Hours, or annually round the SUN. The EARTH therefore must be fixt, and the SUN in continual *Motion*.

R E A S O N I I I,

“ That if the EARTH does not turn round
 “ its *Center* in 24 Hours, and annually
 “ round the SUN, the *Sun, Planets* and *Stars*
 “ must daily make a most immense *Revolu-*
 “ *tion*; and, consequently, utterly incom-
 “ prehensible; considering their excessive
 “ Distances: Whereas the EARTH, by its
 “ Rotation on its own Axis, (which is no-
 “ thing

“ thing comparatively) avoids all those
“ prodigious and inconceivable *Revoluti-*
“ *ons.* ”

A N S W E R.

This is one of those specious Arguments which, according to Custom, in spite of their Falsity, fail not to carry their Point : And, I am persuaded that this alone had gone farther towards establishing the EARTH's Mobility, than all the Reasons that could have been advanced besides. But to this I answer, that when the excessive Distances, at which *Philosophers* and *Astronomers* were in Policy obliged to place the *Celestial Bodies*, are once destroyed, their Diurnal Revolutions will no longer appear inconceivable.

That the moderate or excessive Motion of the *Celestial Bodies* is only in our Imagination ; since one ought to have a perfect Knowledge of the Quality of each of them to be able to judge rightly thereon : *And it is certain, that, not knowing them, we cannot avoid being deceived.* In consequence whereof, for Example, they pretend, that the diurnal Motion of 550000 Leagues and odd, which they ascribe to the EARTH, is more simple and convenient than that which, otherwise, the SUN would be forced to make every 24 Hours. To determine this with Judgment, ought they not to have found out some *Rule* which absolutely

lutely fixes the Motion proper to each Body, and from whence it might evidently be inferred, that the SUN revolving 365 times faster than the EARTH, has an excessive Motion, and that the EARTH, with the 365th Part of this Motion, has only a simple and convenient one? And in case they have acquired this Knowledge, I beg to be let into the Secret: For, to me it appears not a whit more difficult to imagine, that the SUN travels daily 50000000000 of Leagues, than that the EARTH runs bare 500 Leagues a Day; nor do I doubt, but that whoever can conceive the one, may easily comprehend the other. Nay, I even say farther, *That if, by convincing Reasons, they can prove to me, that the EARTH is Immoveable, let them remove the STARS to Distances infinitely greater than they have already placed them in the present SYSTEM, I would not hesitate a Moment in believing, that they might easily make a Diurnal Revolution round the EARTH, be that Revolution ever so immense:* And I should as easily conceive it as the Followers of *Descartes* conceive the 550 odd thousand Leagues, which they suppose the EARTH to make every Day: And all this because I am as ignorant of their Qualities, and particular Dispositions to Motion, as I am of the Causes which may occasion its being swift or slow. It is true, perhaps, that I should not think so, were
I to

I to follow my Reason in judging: But the Errors into which it very frequently leads me, either through Ignorance or Prevention, give me room to be somewhat diffident. Should any one for Example tell us, that a Courier has gone 600 Leagues in a Fortnight, we should certainly think the Journey prodigious, though not impossible: And if, we did not know by Experience what Expedition may be made by Sea, how could we believe that a Man has gone 1800 Leagues in the same Space of Time? Yet that is no such very extraordinary Matter.

Then, if we examine the difference of Motion in Things of the same Species, we shall observe, that though the Ox cannot well travel his ten Leagues a Day; the Stag, a Horned four-footed Creature like himself, can, in that Time, with ease trip over more than fifty Leagues of Ground. Were we not convinced of the Ox's Slowness, and the Stag's Celerity, should we not have room to be surprized, that *one of those Creatures* should go fifty Leagues a Day, whilst the other went but ten? And should we not believe ourselves authorized (by a manner of arguing like what is practised in *Astronomy*) to insist, that it would be more natural to allot each of those Animals thirty Leagues *per Diem*, than to make a Division so very unequal? These simple and natural Comparisons are advanced
purely

purely to convince us, that the Idea we have of Motion is extremely defective; and that consequently that which we deem excessive in the SUN, STARS and PLANETS, is perhaps, according to their Qualities, or other particular Causes, very moderate: And that, reciprocally, the Motion of the *Earth* would be, perhaps, excessive, notwithstanding what we ascribe to it falls infinitely short of the Motion allowed to the STARS and PLANETS. From whence I conclude, that the excessive Motions of the STARS, which they would correct by a Movement of the EARTH, which they term moderate, are grounded only on Comparisons purely human, and can have no Weight with People of solid Reasoning, or convince them of the Immobility of the *Celestial* Bodies. Moreover, in the *New SYSTEM*, it is demonstrated, that the SUN cannot daily have any more Motion than about three times as much as they actually allot to the EARTH; and that the Diurnal *Revolution* of the PLANETS does not require a much greater Rapidity than what is allowed them by the modern *Astronomy*; then if we compare these Objects together, the EARTH, which is solid, compact and ponderous, must be immoveable rather than the SUN, which *Luminary*, according to the Sentiments of the *Philosophers*, is of a Nature extremely active, and in a violent and perpetual Agitation.

tion. Besides, it will appear, by this *New SYSTEM*, that the Cause to which the Motion of the STARS is attributed, occasions them necessarily to produce all the natural *Phænomena*; whereas it is not otherwise possible, notwithstanding all the whimsical established Suppositions, to alledge any good Reason for the Movements and Operations of the *Celestial Bodies*: From whence I draw this Consequence, that, of Necessity, the EARTH must be immoveable, and that the SUN, jointly with all the STARS and PLANETS, make their Diurnal *Revolution* round it.

R E A S O N IV.

“ That the Diurnal and Annual *Revolution* of the EARTH do not require any proper Motion of its own: Since as the EARTH swims, as it were, in the Matter of the SUN’s Vortex, it is hurried along by that Matter, and forced naturally to make all the requisite Revolutions, without therein co-operating itself, in any Manner whatever: Infomuch, that though the EARTH really has divers Motions, it cannot be affirmed to have any at all.”

A N S W E R.

Neither the Diurnal *Revolution* of the EARTH upon its *Center*, nor its Annual *Revolution* round the SUN, being according to
any

14 *The* IMMOBILITY *of*

any Physical, Mechanical, or Geometrical Rule or Reason, as will farther appear, this Salvo for the incomprehensible Motion of the EARTH ought not here to carry with it any Weight; nor can it in any respect prevent the EARTH's being really and without any Restriction, in a perfect Immobility.

R E A S O N V.

“ That the EARTH, in all Probability,
 “ being no other than a *Planet*, like JUPITER,
 “ SATURN, &c. it is not conceivable that
 “ those Bodies, which are abundantly greater
 “ than the EARTH should be subject to a
 “ Diurnal *Revolution* round it, while, by a
 “ particular Privilege, that smaller Body
 “ remains immoveable: It is more natural to
 “ imagine, that this *Planet*, like the rest,
 “ makes its Diurnal *Revolution* round the
 “ SUN.”

A N S W E R.

The Comparison made between the PLANETS and the EARTH, which is judged to be abundantly smaller, proceeds only from the excessive Distances whereat *Philosophers* and *Astronomers* have placed them; and which they could not have done without augmenting their Magnitudes proportionably. But these enormous Distances being, by the *New SYSTEM*, utterly destroyed, the Comparison

parifon which would inforce the *Terreftrial* Motion cannot any longer take Place: On the contrary, it being *Phyficallly* and *Geometrickally* proved, that the PLANETS are fcarce any thing in Comparifon with the EARTH, it ought not to feem wonderful that each of thofe fmall Orbs fhould have a particular Motion without the EARTH's having any at all, and that independently of their Nature, which I fhall prove to be very different.

R E A S O N VI.

“ That the Conformity of the EARTH
“ with JUPITER and SATURN, round which
“ the *Satellites* revolve, as does the MOON
“ round the EARTH, leaves us no room to
“ doubt, that the EARTH makes the fame
“ *Revolutions* round the SUN, as we know
“ JUPITER and SATURN do, which are abundantly greater.

A N S W E R.

In the *New SYSTEM* will appear the Cause of the *Revolution* of the *Satellites* round their PLANETS, as alfo of JUPITER, SATURN, &c. round the SUN: Which cannot in any wife ferve to eftablifh the Motion of the EARTH, it not having therewith the leaft Conformity. The Reasons, therefore, that are made Ufe of in order to eftablifh its Motion, are either *Reasons* without any Foundation, or
not

i 6 *The* IMMOBILITY of

not at all repugnant to its Immobility ;
which will be unanswerably and completely
demonstrated in the Sequel of this TRACT.

OBJECTIONS against the Motion of the
EARTH.

To attribute to the EARTH the Motions that
are judged necessary to produce all the *Phæ-*
nomena of NATURE, and consequently to af-
firm that the EARTH does *move*, is not a con-
vincing Proof of its *Mobility*, except the
RULES of *Physics*, *Mechanics* and *Geometry*,
which NATURE exactly follows in all its Opera-
tions, are not thereto entirely conformable.
This is what we are about to examine.

O B J E C T I O N I.

The EARTH, according to the Sentiments
of all *Philosophers* and *Astronomers*, is an
Opake Body, that has not any inherent Pro-
perty or Inclination to Motion : So, pretend
they, it moves not naturally, but because it
is hurried round by the Matter of the SUN's
Vortex wherein it *swims* ; and by whose impe-
tuosity it is compelled to complete a *Revolu-*
tion round the Sun in 365 Days, 5 Hours, 48
Minutes, and 52 Seconds ; independently of
its Diurnal Rotation upon its own Center.
Whereupon I demand ; *First*, " By what
" Virtue does the SOLAR *Vortex* move ? " *Se-*
condly,

condly, " Why it moves Circularly ? " Since so it must necessarily do, to drag the EARTH annually round the SUN. For, supposing that the *First Element*, (FIRE,) whereof they suppose the SUN to be formed, has in it self a violent and continual Agitation; it does not from thence follow, that this violent and continual Agitation must occasion it to move Circularly: As I prove in the *Refutation* of the *Physical Principles* of DESCARTES, which shall soon appear under the Title of, *Destruction des Tourbillions*; The *Destruction* of *Vortexes*. Now, if the *First Element* does not move Circularly, what is it that can give to the Matter of the SOLAR *Vortex* that Motion wherewith it compels the EARTH to make a continual *Revolution* round the SUN?

O B J E C T I O N II.

I shall be told, perhaps, that Experience shews us, that the SUN revolves round its own Center once in 25 Days, 12 Hours: The *First Element*, then, moves Circularly, and must, therefore, communicate to the Matter of its *Vortex* the Motion which causes the EARTH to circulate continually round the SUN. I grant, that the Sun moves round its own Center in 25 Days and a Half: But I deny that this Motion proceeds from any inherent Property of the *First Element*, whereof that *Luminary* is composed: So I shall demonstrate

in my SYSTEM, that this the SUN's circular Motion is so far from hurrying the Earth along with it, and compelling it to revolve round that *Luminary*, that this *Revolution* of the SUN round its *Center* is a natural Consequence of its Diurnal Revolution round the EARTH.

O B J E C T I O N III.

Let us now suppose, that this Circular Motion of the SUN (according to the SYSTEM of the present *Astronomy*) puts all the Matter of its *Vortex* in Motion; it is certain, that the EARTH, fixed and riveted within this Matter, must become Part of its Body, and obey all its Motions, as we see any Thing naturally does when totally immersed in running Water. Now, if the EARTH follows all the Movements of the Matter of the SOLAR *Vortex*, it moves with the same Velocity as does that Matter; and consequently, the Diurnal Motion allotted it (and which is caused only by that Matter, which moving swifter, in passing over it, forces it to make a Revolution round its *Center*) cannot have Place; since the EARTH must move as fast as the Matter itself, and exactly follow all its Motions.

O B J E C T I O N IV.

But let us suppose, that the said *Matter* moves swifter than does the EARTH; must it from thence follow, that in passing over it, the Quantity and Swiftneſs thereof can force the
the

the EARTH to make a *Revolution* round its Center? Certainly no: Because, if the *Parts* of the *Matter*, in passing over the EARTH, should by their Quantity and Swiftneſs compel it to turn from Weſt to Eaſt, the Inferior *Matter*, which the EARTH muſt then preſs with a Force proportionate to that which is impreſſed upon it by the Superior *Matter*, muſt, neceſſarily, oppoſe itſelf againſt that Circulation, and conſequently bring it to a Balance, as is amply demonſtrated in the *Article* of the *Refutation* of the *Principles* of the *Physics* of DESCARTES: Therefore, the Diurnal Rotation neither muſt nor can be effected by the Impreſſion of the Matter of the SOLAR *Vortex* upon the EARTH, as is maintained by all the *Philophers*. Now, if they cannot ſupport the EARTH's Diurnal *Revolution*, they muſt of Courſe renounce its Annual Motion round the SUN, and acknowledge the EARTH to be really immoveable, and that the SUN, according to the Principles of NATURE, is in a continual Motion.

Let the *Maintainers* of the *Terreſtrial Motion*, fend off theſe two laſt *Objections*.

O B J E C T I O N V.

It is an incontestable Axiom, and we may daily be convinced by Experience, that every Body which any Power cauſes to move circularly, always ſeeks to deſcribe the largeſt

20 *The* IMMOBILITY of

Circle perpendicular to the *Axis* of its Mover. If then, the EARTH was, by the *Sun's* Motion, compelled to make a circular *Revolution*, it would according to this Principle, constantly describe the greatest *Circle* of the *Sphere* of the SOLAR *Vortex*, that is, the SUN's *Equator*: And in such Case, we should always have the same Season. But as, every Year, we perceive the divers Changes of Seasons, we may be assured, that, naturally, the EARTH cannot move round the SUN, as is pretended; since it is wholly repugnant to this *Principle*.

O B J E C T I O N VI.

Supposing that, as all the *Philosophers* and *Astronomers* assure us, the EARTH is hurried on by the MATTER of the SUN's *Vortex* wherein it swims, this *Matter* moving only in consequence of the SUN's Rotation round its *Center*, must, incontestably, follow the Direction of the Motion thereon impressed by the SUN; that is to say, describe all these different *Points* of *Circles* perpendicular to the *Axis* round which the SUN makes its *Revolution*; and the EARTH, which, as they pretend, has not any other Motion than what is given it by the *Matter* of the *Vortex*, must, consequently, follow the same Dispositions: Nevertheless, the EARTH, far from conforming to this Rule of *Mechanics*, runs through
the

the *Ecliptic*, which is a *Circle* oblique to the *Equator*. Now, the *Matter* of the *Vortex*, instead of giving *it* a Motion which it has not itself wholly opposes that Direction: The *EARTH*, therefore, contrary to the Sentiments of the *Philosophers* and *Astronomers*, either has in itself a particular and unknown Motion, which causes *it* to revolve round the *Ecliptic*, in spite of the Opposition of the *Matter* of the *SOLAR Vortex*, or else agreeable to the *Rules* of *Physics* and *Mechanics*, it must be the *SUN* that turns, and the *EARTH* must be without Motion.--- I much doubt whether the *Maintainers* of the *EARTH*'s Motion can destroy these two *Objections*, which are still corroborated by the following ones, and by every Article of the *New SYSTEM* of the *UNIVERSE*.

O B J E C T I O N VII.

The *EARTH*, according to all *Astronomers*, in each of its *Revolutions*, is in its *Apogeeum* and *Perigeum* with the *SUN*; that is to say, during six Months of the Year, *it* insensibly retreats from the *SUN*, to a certain Distance; and during the other six Months, *it* re-approaches that *Luminary*, till it returns to the Station from whence *it* departed. I should be very curious to know, by what *Rule* of *Physics* or *Mechanics*, the *Philosophers* have established a Motion so singular as this, which is intirely opposite to the Causes which, according to

them, compel the EARTH to move. For if, as they pretend, the EARTH does not move, but as it is forced along by the *Matter* of the SUN's *Vortex*, in which it swims, and if this *Matter* acts not but by the Impression made upon it by the SUN's *Revolution* upon its own *Center*, the Circular Motion of the SUN being uniform and continual, and the Activity of all its Parts being equal, as is proved to us by Experience, how can we conceive, that the EARTH can at one Time remove farther from the SUN than at another? Since as the Influence which occasions its Motion is equal and alike, it must always keep at the same Distance. Now, since the EARTH during its *Revolution*, is at unequal Distances from the SUN, and as that cannot, naturally, be produced by the Motion of the *Matter* in which the EARTH swims, nor by the SUN's *Revolution* upon its *Center*, it must needs be that the Causes which occasion the EARTH to move are not known, or rather that they attribute to the EARTH what is proper to the SUN, which, in all Probability, must encompass the EARTH, while this latter remains immoveable.

O B J E C T I O N VIII.

The EARTH, in its *Perigeum* being nearer the SUN than in its *Apogeum*, must then have been more sensible of the Impression of

of that *Luminary*, and consequently ought to move swifter during the six Months of its being in its *Perigeum*, than during the six Months of its *Apogeum* (which is incontestable according to the Principles of the Motion attributed to the EARTH) and consequently we ought to have six Months, whose natural Days must be manifestly shorter than those during the other six Months: I say manifestly; for the EARTH, according to the present *Astronomy*, being nearer the SUN, about one thirtieth Part of its Distance in its *Perigeum* than in its *Apogeum*, it follows (by the famous *Rule of Porportion* of the *Cube* of the *Distances* with the *Square* of the *Revolutions*) that if the EARTH in its *Apogeum* should make its longest *Revolution* upon it self in 24 Hours, the length of the Day in its *Perigeum* can be scarce 23 Hours: And taking the 24 Hours, as a middle Number, we shall find that, in the Course of a Year, some Days will be of more than 24 Hours, 30 Minutes, and others of less than 23 Hours, 30 Minutes, which makes more than an Hour's Difference. Now, this Difference is so considerable, that if it was actually real, there is no doubt but it must have been perceived by Clocks, Hour-Glasses, and other Machines made Use of to measure Time: But, seeing it has not hitherto been remarked, it cannot possibly be so. Since therefore it is

24 *The* IMMOBILITY of

not so, I say, that this so-boasted *Rule* for the Establishment of the Distance and Movement of the *Planets* is imaginary, as are the *Apogeums* and *Perigeums*: And consequently, the *Principles* whereon the present *Astronomy* is founded, far from establishing solidly the EARTH's Motion, prove evidently on the contrary, its Immobility. Let the *Maintainers* of *Terrestrial Motion* answer these *Objections*.

O B J E C T I O N IX.

The *Orbit* of the EARTH moves; the *Apogeums* and *Perigeums* do not always answer to the same Parts of the *Firmament*: they change a whole *Degree* in 58 Years, as does its *Excentricity*. As much as I have racked my Brains about it, I am yet at a Loss to conceive what that *Orbit* is, which the EARTH revolves, and how, in spite of the Resistance made by the *Matter* of the SUN's *Vortex*, it can compel *it* to remove from and approach towards the SUN at Pleasure: Nor am I less puzzled to conceive what that *Excentric Circle* near the SUN is, with which the *Orbit* of the EARTH is so closely linked, that they have the very same Motions, and make together one *Degree* in 58 Years. When I reflect on this Diversity of Suppositions, and muster all these different Motions together, I cannot but admire the Extent of the Imagination of
Philoso-

Philosophers, and the particular Method they have taken to establish their SYSTEM; into which the more I endeavour to penetrate, the less I am able to comprehend it.

According to the *Principles* of DESCARTES, and the Sentiments of all the *Philosophers* who have succeeded him, I ought to think, that the *first Element*, or the subtile MATTER of which the SUN is composed, gave Motion to all Bodies whatever that are inclosed within its *Vortex*; but the *Excentricity* of the Orbit of the EARTH now convinces me of the contrary: For if the Motion of the EARTH and its Orbit, be an Effect of the SUN's Rotation upon its Center (as *Philosophers* pretend) certainly, according to their *Principles*, and to all the *Rules of Physics*, and *Mechanics*, the SUN should become the Center of that Orbit, as it must be of the Motion of the EARTH. But by the present Hypothesis, the SUN is neither the Center of that Orbit, nor the Center of the EARTH's Motion: Therefore, either all that is advanced concerning the Motion of the *Celestial Bodies*, is false, or this Orbit is imaginary, and the EARTH without Motion.

Again; If the *Excentricity* of the Orbit of the EARTH did really exist, by a particular Exception (which one would think, the *Philosophers* ought not to have passed over in Silence) this *Excentric Circle* should have a Motion

Motion of its own ; since, if it moves by the force which the SUN impresses upon the whole *Matter* of its *Vortex*, it must follow not only that it loses its *Excentricity*, being 30 times nearer to the SUN than is the EARTH ; but that by the *Rule* of the *Cube* of the *Distances* with the *Square* of the *Revolutions*, it moves more than 164 times faster than the EARTH ; that is to say, it must move more than three Millions, five hundred thousand times swifter than it does move. But this is dwelling too long on Notions of so little Probability, notwithstanding they have been generally received by all *Philosophers* and *Astronomers* : Not that it requires abundance of Attention to discover their not being in any wise compatible with the *Terrestrial Motion* ; so that either the one or the other must be destroyed. Now Experience teaches us, that the EARTH is really farther from the SUN at some times than it is at others ; and as that cannot happen through any of the Causes to which they attribute the Motion of the EARTH, it must necessarily be, that it is the SUN which moves, and that the EARTH is without Motion.

O B J E C T I O N X.

Astronomers, in establishing the Immobility of the STARS, to account for their *Declination* of one *Degree* (some say in 72 Years, others in 100 Years) have given the

the EARTH yet another Motion, which causing it, by its *Axis*, to describe a *Circle* in 25000, or in 36000 Years, much like that made by a Top when it is near spent and going down, shews us this apparent *Declination* of the STARS. By comparing this Motion with the others which have been already attributed to the EARTH, we may easily perceive, that the Causes which occasion the one, intirely oppose the others; and that therefore they cannot exist at one and the same Time. Nevertheless, this Obstacle does not surprise me: The *Astronomers*, after having leaped over the plainest and most simple *Laws* of NATURE, and the exactest *Rules* of *Physicks*, *Mechanics*, and *Geometry*, without having their Sentiments opposed or contradicted by any, did not doubt but they had a Right to establish all the Suppositions they had Occasion for, without concerning themselves, whether they could subsist together or not. I do not therefore wonder, that, in order to maintain their SYSTEM, they have had Recourse to such a Singularity as the last of these Motions, as likewise those of the *Orbits*, the *Apo-geums* and the *Perigeums*, all which are incompatible with the Diurnal and Annual Motions of the EARTH. Besides, as we have made appear, it is not possible to establish either one or other of them, by any of the Causes assigned them by the *Philosophers*, or
to

to support them by the *Laws* of *Physics*, *Mechanics* and *Geometry*: Neither are there any *Philosophers* or *Astronomers*, who can thereby, render satisfactory Reasons for any of the *Phænomena* of NATURE; such as are the *Eclipses*, the ebbing and flowing of the *Sea*, the *Diversity* of the *Light*, and *Magnitude* of the *STARS*, their *Appearance* and *Disappearance*, their *Declination*, with an Infinity of others, which we shall observe in due Place. Whereupon, and in consequence of what has been advanced, I conclude, “ That the *Mo-*
 “ *tion* of the EARTH is *imaginary*, that, of
 “ necessity it must be *immoveable*, and that
 “ all the *Celestial Bodies* make their *Diurnal*
 “ *Revolution* round this our GLOBE ”.

If the *Maintainers* of the *Terrestrial Motion* can destroy these *Objections*, I promise them, in the *Face* of all ENGLAND, to adhere to their *Opinion*; and I publicly declare, that I will be none of the least zealous to defend *It*. But as one must over-turn the plainest and most simple *Laws* of *Nature*, and the exactest *Principles* of *Physics*, *Statics*, *Mechanics*, and *Geometry*, I believe they will find it easier to renounce the *Motion* of the EARTH, and, in Conformity with the *Scripture*, and in Conjunction with the whole CHURCH, to acknowledge this GLOBE to be *immoveable*, and that it is the *Center* of the *Diurnal Revolution* of the *Celestial Bodies*.

I could

I could have enlarged upon this *Demonstration*, which has Matter sufficient for many *Tomes* in *Folio*; wherein, by handling the Theme *Astronomically*, that is to say, in a Manner that very few would have understood, I might, like a Multitude of others, have acquired the Title of a First-rate *Virtuoso*: But as my Ambition runs not so high, I seek only to give these brief and convincing *Demonstrations*, which are within every one's Reach. This is what I shall endeavour to observe throughout the whole Course of this WORK.

As to the rest, I shall observe, that the *New SYSTEM* of the UNIVERSE (whereon is grounded the ART of learning ASTRONOMY without a MASTER, the *Latin* and *French IMPRESSION* whereof I *propose* by SUBSCRIPTION) has this Advantage over all those which have hitherto been received: That the same Cause which naturally occasions all the *Celestial Bodies* to move, necessarily forms all the *Phænomena*, and serves to give Reasons for them: That its *Principles* are founded upon the plainest and most simple *Laws* of NATURE, upon incontestable Facts of which we may daily behold the Experience, and upon all the exactest *Rules* of *Physicks*, *Statics*, *Mechanics*, and *Geometry*: That, lastly, there is not any one of its *Parts*, but what has so exact a Proportion, Union, and Connexion with all the rest, that if the WORLD is not really
made

made and formed as *it* is there supposed to be, it is morally impossible to imagine all *its* PARTS not to be really in Proportion to *those* that are *there* established: All which is what could never yet be met with in any SYSTEM that has appeared in Public.

MONSIEUR DE LA JONCHERE having given us the Contents of his *large Work*, I have thought fit for the sake of the Curious, to subjoin an Abstract of it. The Design of it is to establish a new System of *Astronomy*, in Opposition to all others, both Ancient and Modern. In Prosecution of which he undertakes to prove, that the Magnitudes, Distances, Proportions, and Motions of the Celestial Bodies, according to all former SYSTEMS, are contrary to Nature and Reason, and all the Rules of *Physics*, *Mechanics*, and *Geometry*. That nothing can be concluded from the Angles of their Distances which are imaginary. That the *Excentrics*, *Epicicles*, *Apogeum*, *Perigeum*, *Aphelia*, and *Perihelia* cannot be at present settled by *Astronomers*. That the *Parallax* is still undiscovered, all the Methods made Use of hitherto to find it being false; as well as the boasted Discovery by the Proportion of the *Square of the Times* of the Revolutions of the Planets, with the CUBE of their DISTANCES. That the Immobility of the SUN and Stars is repugnant to Nature, Reason, and

and Experience, and their supposed Magnitudes and Distances extravagant. That neither Eclipses, which are the Touchstone of former Systems, and so easily foretold, nor the length of the Cone of the Earth's Shadow can be calculated by their Rules, which are false. That the Moon's Shadow upon the Earth is not the 30th Part of its Diameter, though reckoned equal to the whole. --- The Principles of the new System, compared with those of former Systems. That the Earth is in the Center of the World, and all the Orbits of the Celestial Bodies. --- Causes of the Motion of the Celestial Bodies, and of their Revolutions under the Ecliptic. That the Weather, Scarcity, Plenty, Mortalities, and other public Calamities may be foretold by the Aspect of the Heavens. --- The Nature and Origin of Fogs, Winds, Rain, Lightening Thunderbolts, Earthquakes, and other Meteors. That the *Sun* is 196998 times less, and 28000000 Leagues nearer us, than is supposed. That the *Moon* is about 4 times bigger, and 11600 Leagues nearer. That *Venus* is $22425\frac{1}{4}$ times less, and 32000000 Leagues nearer. That *Mercury* is about 3222 times less, and 23000000 Leagues nearer. That *Mars* is 13950 times less, and 48000000 Leagues nearer. That *Jupiter* is about 225149000 times less, and 164000000 Leagues nearer. That *Saturn* is about 370220000 times less,
and

32 *The IMMOBILITY of the EARTH.*

and 372000000 Leagues nearer us than it is deemed to be. That the *Stars*, instead of being more than 60000000 Leagues, are not 500000 Leagues from us, nor any of them above 500 Leagues in Magnitude. That *they* are *Opake*, borrow their Light from the *Sun*; and have different Declinations. Cause of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, inexplicable by all other Systems, found out by the Principles of the New. That the *Longitude* is to be found out only by *Astronomy*, which the Author proposes to effect by a Method as plain and easy as that of finding the *Latitude*; whenever the Powers interested in the Discovery please to appoint Persons of Integrity and Learning to examine the Matter. *Lastly*, The Work is to conclude with a Discourse concerning the Manner of making Canals, and rendering Rivers Navigable.

These are the Particulars which Monsieur DE LA JONCHERE proposes to publish, and you will observe, *Sir*, they cannot subsist but by the Destruction of the NEWTONIAN *Philosophy*, as well as the SYSTEMS of *Copernicus*, *Tycho Brake*, *Ptolemy*, and all the rest.

F I N I S.



